On the Agora

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On the Agora

The Evolution of a Public Space in Hellenistic and Roman Greece (c. 323 BC – 267 AD)

By

Christopher P. Dickenson

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Cover illustration: Impression of the Athenian agora by J. Bühlmann (c. 1880)

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To my parents

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The Athenian agora is now a haven of tranquillity in the centre of a sprawling modern city. I first visited the site in the summer of 2001. It was my first time in Athens and I had a few days to explore the city before setting off to take part in a survey project. I sat on one of the benches beneath the temple of Hephaistos, the July sun beating through the shade of the trees, watching the tourists milling about. It was pleasant to have escaped the noisy, dirty streets around my hotel in Omonia. I strolled around the ruined foundations trying to imagine what the buildings must have looked like but I couldn't really conjure up an image of the place as it must once have been—a square teeming with the hustle and bustle of daily life. I gave up, enjoyed the weather and the view of the Akropolis and then strolled over to take a look around the museum. Some time later, while writing my master's thesis about cities in the Hellenistic world, I remembered the agora and thought that to really understand what life in an ancient Greek city was like would mean understanding the public squares where the Greeks spent so much of their time. I was surprised to discover how little had been written about life on the ancient agora especially for the post Classical periods and for cities other than Athens. And so the idea for a PhD project started to take shape: a comparative study of life on the agoras of different Greek cities in the post-Classical periods when the Greeks found themselves overshadowed by foreign powers—first the kings who succeeded Alexander the Great and then the Roman Empire. If I'd known when I started writing my thesis how long it would be before the first part of my research would appear in book form I might never have written a word. The process has been so deeply rewarding that I'm glad that the end always seemed a little nearer than it actually was.

A book that has taken as long to complete at this one could not have come into existence without the help and support of far too many people to thank here. I'm glad to be able to express my gratitude to those whose impact on the book was most direct. Firstly I would like to thank my thesis supervisors and examiners. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to my main supervisor Onno van Nijf who taught me much about the political life of the post-Classical polis and tirelessly provided inspiring feedback. I am also grateful to my other supervisors, Lisa Nevett, Kostas Buraselis and Peter Attema who provided many insightful and useful comments at various stages of my writing. Secondly thanks are due to my examiners—John Bintliff, Kostas Buraselis and Greg Woolf—whose critical remarks strengthened my arguments and improved the current text in many ways. Next I would like to thank John Camp,

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My research could not have taken place without several extensive stays in Greece. Two short trips were facilitated by travel grants from the NWO (Nederlands Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek); two longer stays were made possible by a Marie Curie Fellowship as part of the European Doctorate "Building on the Past" programme. In Athens I spent a considerable amount of time at the Netherlands Institute. The staff always made me feel very welcome and I would like to offer my warm thanks to them: to Gert Jan van Wijngaarden, Kris Tytgat, Janta van Lienden, Emmy Makri, Willem Ledeboer and to Anna Konstantin who is sadly no longer with us. I am also very grateful to the staff, and especially the librarians, of the British School at Athens where much of my research was carried out.

In the course of writing this book I've worked at three universities and would like to thank colleagues at all of them for making each feel like home and for countless discussions that helped shape my thinking about the ancient world and the nature of public space. At the University of Groningen: Jan Willem Drijvers, Wim Jongman, Bert Overbeek, Marlies Schipperheijn, Ed van der Vliet, Sara Wijma, Christina Williamson, Arjan Zuiderhoek, Stefan Couperus and Femke Hemelaar; at Nijmegen: Lien Foubert, Coen van Galen, Nathalie de Haan, Olivier Hekster, Gerda de Kleijn and Daniëlle Slootjes; and, most recently, at Oxford: Jean Sébastien Balzat, Ewen Bowie, Anna Clark, Catherine Clarke, Jaś Elsner, John Ma, Bert Smith, Maria Stamatopoulou, Peter Stewart and Peter Thonemann. Outside of the institutions where I've worked I would like to thank the following people, in no particular order, for giving me access to unpublished work, for reading and commenting on my writing, or for many thought provoking discussions: Luke Lavan, Rolf Strootman, Michael Scott, Federico Santangelo, Robert Pitt, Matthew Haysom, George Bruseker, Christina Kokkinia, Ulf Kenzler, Tony Spawforth and Jamieson Donati.

I'm grateful to Tessel Jonquiere and Pavelko at Brill for their patience and their assistance at many levels during the publication process. My anonymous reviewer picked me up on points of detail and made suggestions for changes that certainly strengthened my argument and improved the book.

Writing a book, of course, encroaches on your private life, and I could not have completed this one without the understanding and support of friends and family. Here it really is impossible to thank everybody but there are some who cannot go unmentioned. Firstly my friends: I would like to thank Etienne and Marieke who both, in different ways, played an important role during the writing of this book. Secondly my family: to Joke I owe a debt that it is impossible to express in words. The same is true of my two daughters whose existence I had not even dreamed of when I began the book and who have enriched my life beyond measure. Last of all I want to thank my mum and dad for never pushing me in my choices and for their love and encouragement for the path I chose to follow. I dedicate this book to them.

A few words should finally be said here about the way I refer to and present my source material. I've used the Loeb translations for ancient sources. The only changes that I've made are to occasionally leave Greek words such as "bouleuterion" and, especially, "agora" untranslated. I've decided to use English titles to refer to those sources, rather than the Latin titles and abbreviations that are commonly used in scholarship of the ancient world so that readers who lack a background in Classics will at least have some idea what kind of works these are. It has not been possible to find a way of referring to inscriptions that will make sense to the uninitiated. In the footnotes numbers in ***bold italics*** (e.g. Wycherley 1957, ***37***) are used to refer to catalogue entries in collections of texts or inscriptions in order to distinguish them from page numbers. For the names of Greek people and places I've made no attempt at consistency. For the most part I've used authentically Greek spelling for the Hellenistic Period and Latinised names for the Imperial period (so Polybios but Philostratus) but have retained Anglicised forms (Aristotle, Plutarch) where they are in common use. For most place names authentic Greek spellings seemed most appropriate (e.g. Aigion) but for others such as Corinth that would have felt contrived.

An unexpectedly thorny problem that presented itself in finalising the text was when to capitalise the word "agora". While the word is often capitalised in discussing individual sites—especially in scholarship of the "Athenian Agora"—to make a proper noun of the word here seemed to take for granted one of the key issues that the book had set out to explore, namely, the level of cultural importance that the Greeks attached to their public squares. For that reason, with the exception of the "Roman Agora" at Athens (a thoroughly modern coinage), I have chosen to use the word "agora" in lower case throughout. This is not to imply that the agora was any less important to the Greeks than is generally supposed. On the contrary I believe that the agora was so central to the Greek way of life that its importance was taken for granted. Capitalising the word implies an affinity to the way we think of our Trafalgar, Time or Syntagma

Squares; the lower case 'agora' seems to me to better reflect the unselfconscious way these squares are referred to in the sources. The reader will decide for him- or herself whether I am right.

August 2016, Lincoln College, Oxford

Introduction

The agora—market, assembly place, muster point, home to a wide concentration of public activities—has often been thought of as the heart of the ancient polis. It was here that the Greeks came together on a daily basis to shop, socialise and exchange news and gossip. For the Classical period the word conjures up images of Sokrates having lively discussions with his friends at the cobbler's shop or Demosthenes debating with Aischines in the law courts. Archaeologists have spent over a century excavating agora sites throughout the Greek world, accumulating a massive wealth of data, sharing the conviction of John Camp, current head of the Athenian Agora Excavations that it is here that they can expect to "learn most about the history, social institutions, commerce, art, technology, and cults of a site".[1] These excavations have also produced hundreds of inscriptions and there are thousands of literary sources that provide information about life on ancient agoras. The agora, as an ideal type of public space, lives on in modern Western culture, the word appearing as the name for internet discussion groups, hotels and conference centres.[2] Yet, there has been very little comparative research into the ancient agora that looks beyond the Classical period. When scholars have considered the agora in later periods they have tended to draw rather negative comparisons with Classical Athens and to paint a picture of a public space in decline. The arguments supporting this vision are typically presented as self-evident yet rest on some rather simplistic and highly questionable assumptions.

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods the Greek polis had to contend first with the great kingdoms that emerged from the wars fought by Alexander's successors following his death, and then with incorporation into the Roman Empire. These periods were for a long time thought of by historians solely in terms of decline—political freedoms were curtailed by imperial powers, democracies were replaced by oligarchies and culture stagnated. This vision has had a profound influence over the way in which the transformation of the agora throughout this period has been seen. In particular the fact that agoras became more and more monumentalised in the post-Classical periods, with grander buildings, a greater degree of enclosure and higher numbers of statues, has been seen as symptomatic of an erosion of the agora's vitality as a

1 Camp 1986, 14.

2 Searching the internet for the word "agora" leads, for example, to hotels in Amsterdam and Antwerp, a conference centre in Arkansas and a UK-based internet discussion group for students of politics. These examples could be multiplied *ad infinitum*.

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public space. Political and cultural decline is thus seen to be reflected in the architecture of public space. In recent decades the old view of the Hellenistic and Roman period polis as characterised by decline has been increasingly challenged by historians who have argued for remarkably high levels of political autonomy and popular participation in local government even under Roman rule and for continued creativity in areas of cultural output such as literature. Accompanying this trend there has been a renewed interest in the post-Classical agora but this recent scholarship has done little to challenge the key assumptions at the heart of how the Hellenistic and Roman period agora has been viewed over the last century or so.

This book takes a new look at the development of the design and function of the agora over a period of nearly six centuries, beginning with the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC and ending, at the height of the Roman Empire, with the Herulian invasion of Greece in 267 AD. Its focus is the Greek mainland, which corresponds to the Roman provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, and, to a lesser extent, the islands of the Aegean. The world of the poleis was, of course, much larger, covering much of the Mediterranean with, in our period, a heavy concentration of Greek cities throughout Asia Minor. Limiting the study to a smaller, though still vast enough, geographic area has certain advantages not least in terms of manageability. Restricting the scope allows a depth of detail in the comparison that would not have been possible if each and every agora known archaeologically had been included. A second advantage is that, especially for the Hellenistic period, previous comparative research into Greek urban form has tended to pay a large amount of attention to the cities of Asia Minor, with the result that the agoras of Greece are less well understood. A large amount of the evidence considered is archaeological but attention is also paid to inscriptions and texts that cast light on the function and use of individual buildings and agoras in general, or provide insight into the way in which agoras were viewed at different times.

Intertwined with the attempt to trace the course of agora development over more than half a millennium is a methodological argument about how we can combine these disparate sources in order to write such a history. The book challenges the idea that the social, cultural or political significance of transformations of the built environment can be straightforwardly "read". Often interpretations put forward to explain such changes tell us more about the prejudices and assumptions of modern scholars than they do about the realities of life in the ancient city. On the one hand challenging old certainties, and avoiding, as much as possible, the sweeping generalisations that have been so common in previous agora scholarship leads to a certain degree of pessimism as to what the evidence actually allows us to say about the significance of the

transformation of the post-Classical agora. On the other, the vision of the agora that results from deconstructing previous interpretations and suggesting new ones is much more optimistic than that found in earlier studies. The case is made that far from losing its vitality as a public space the agora at the height of the Roman Empire remained the beating heart of the polis.

To prepare the ground for what follows there are a few things that need to be dealt with in this introduction. I shall begin (1.1) by arguing that although the agora is a subject with which ancient historians and Classical archaeologists probably feel rather familiar, our understanding of what an agora actually was is far from complete. Assumptions that appear frequently in modern scholarship turn out on closer inspection to be unfounded. In the next section (1.2) I discuss previous research concerning the ancient agora, looking at the issues that have been addressed in this work and the approaches that previous scholars have taken in exploring the agora. I then turn (1.3) more specifically to the issue of how this earlier research has approached the agora. I argue that many commonly held views concerning the agora, particularly in the post-Classical periods, are based on flawed assumptions; furthermore, instead of contributing much that is new towards our understanding of ancient society and culture, previous discussion of the agora has tended instead to reinforce preconceived ideas derived from other sources. The need for a new approach to the subject is the justification for this book. In the subsequent four sections (1.4–1.7) I introduce the various types of evidence that can cast light on the ancient agora and consider both the potential and the limitations of that material. The final section (1.8) provides a brief outline of the book.

1 What Exactly was an Agora?

The question might seem a redundant one. I have already stated that the agora was the marketplace and main public square of the Greek polis and indeed historians and archaeologists have generally treated the agora as a fairly unproblematic concept. However, once we begin to explore the agora in any detail it soon becomes clear that scholars are often rather vague in their understanding of what an agora was. Many widely held assumptions regarding the agora turn out to be based on rather fragile foundations, and fundamental questions regarding the nature of the agora turn out never to have been asked. These are important issues because they both provide a partial justification for this book on the Hellenistic and Roman agora, and at the same time highlight certain key problems to do with defining our subject matter.

The reasons why knowledge of the agora is so fragmentary will become clear later when I consider the way in which it has been approached in modern scholarship.

A good example of a claim that is often made regarding the agora but which lacks supporting evidence is that it was common for agoras to be demarcated by boundary stones; these are also commonly interpreted as serving to set the agora aside as a religious temenos.[3] Typically the only references given to support either claim are to the *horoi* that have been discovered at Athens.[4] Boundary stones are also attested at Piraeus and at Sounion but for agoras outside Attica they are actually very rare.[5] In the first place the assumption is questionable because there is actually very little evidence that agoras typically were defined by boundary stones. The only examples of agora boundary stones that I am aware of elsewhere in Greece are two that have been found at the settlement of Epidauros, the polis responsible for the sanctuary of Asklepios that is still famous for its theatre.[6] A possible boundary stone has also been discovered on the agora of Messene but its identification is uncertain and, even if it was a boundary stone, it might have defined some other area of space than the agora itself.[7] Furthermore, it is far from clear that the agora boundary stones

3 Both assumptions are made by: Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 47; Zaidman and Pantel 1992, 55–56 and 96; Martin 1951, 165. Alain Bresson (2008, 23) assumes that boundary stones were common features of agoras without drawing conclusions about their religious significance. Sielhorst (2015, 78) mentions boundary stones as typical features of older agoras without giving examples. Paul Millett (1998, 224) and Thompson and Wycherley (1972, 118) assume that the Athenian boundary stones have to do with the agora being a temenos, but do not imply that boundary stones were a common feature of agoras.

4 As by each of the authors mentioned in n. 3 above, except for Martin. Martin (Martin 1951, 165) states that *horoi* were a common feature of agoras; however, he provides no evidence to support his claim, merely a reference to an inscription mentioning the Sacred Agora (ἱερὴ ἀγορή) of Halikarnassos (Syll3, 45,4 = Meiggs and Lewis 1969, *32*)—the inscription, however, is not from a *horos* stone. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (ibid.) cite Martin as if he had provided additional evidence. For the Athenian boundary stones see Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 117–118, Camp 1986, 48, Wycherley 1957, *713*.

5 Piraeus—Garland 1987, 141; Sounion—IG II [2] 1180—discussed by Whitehead 1986, 45.

6 The first stone was discovered in the early 1970s and thought then to have been *in situ*—Peek 1972, *118*. Recently another boundary stone has been discovered reused in a late Roman rebuilding of the theatre—Petrounakos 2011, 160. Excavations in the area of the first boundary stone have revealed that it was not in fact *in situ* after all but had probably been moved to that spot, possibly to be used as building material, together with four other stelai of similar dimensions which, though uninscribed, may also have been boundary stones—Petrounakos 2011, 61.

7 All that survives of the inscription on the stone is a large omicron, which has led to it being

we do know of had anything to do with religion. In Athens and Attica *horoi* are common but they do not always indicate sacred ground.[8] This is an important issue because it shows that our most basic understanding of what an agora was, and how the Greeks conceptualised space as private or public, sacred or profane, is rather incomplete. It also illustrates the temptation to extrapolate knowledge of Athens to the wider Greek world.

A more fundamental problem with our modern understanding of what exactly an agora was can be seen in the difficulties that scholars have had in identifying the agora at several sites. At Classical Olynthos there has been some dispute about whether the supposed agora there might not actually have been a space for military parades or a religious sanctuary.[9] Another open space within the same city has been labelled the "Civic Center", implying that it was something other than an agora.[10] Among scholars of Corinthian topography a lively discussion has being going on for several decades as to whether the area beneath the forum of the Roman colony, with its racetrack and shrines, is the old Greek agora.[11] Even at Athens where the Classical agora

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restored as "ὅ[ρος]"—SEG XLV 319. Another *horos* discovered at Messene (SEG LII 418), had been set up in the sixth century AD to protect a private drain.

8 The agora of Athens was certainly, in a certain sense, religious ground, with *perrirhanteria* at the entrances and prohibitions against *atimoi* entering the space—Aischines 3 (Ktesiphon), 176 = Wycherley 1957, ***714***; Wycherley also refers to archaeological evidence for the *perrirhanteria*. This does not necessarily mean that the *horoi* had a religious significance. The boundary stone for the new agora at Sounion mentioned above in n. 5 explicitly states that it was designed to prevent people building on the space. For a full discussion of the types of *horoi* known from Athens see Lalonde in Lalonde, Langdon et al. 1991, 1–21. Note, however, that Lalonde is inclined to accept a religious significance for the agora *horoi*. For *horoi* in the countryside and demes see also Whitehead 1986, 18–19.

9 Interpreted as a practice area by the excavators—Robinson and Graham 1938, 21–22, Robinson 1946, 79–114; Roland Martin assumed it was the agora—Martin 1951, 386–390; On it being a sanctuary—Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 76; Nicholas Cahill agrees with Martin that it was the agora, pointing out that no temple has been found—Cahill 2000, 499 and 502–503, Cahill 2002, 32 and 265–266. A student at the University of Toronto has recently argued in support of this being the agora—Wyshnicki 2009.

10 Cahill 2002, 32–34.

11 In 1970 Charles Williams challenged what was then the consensus that the area beneath the Roman forum was the old Greek agora, pointing to a lack of political buildings, shortage of inscriptions and an inadequate water supply—Williams 1970. For Williams the racetrack and pre-Roman shrines in the area suggested this was some kind of festival space. Williams' argument has not convinced everyone but has only recently been challenged in print—Donati 2010a, Donati 2011, 106–109. Curiously the debate appears to have gone unnoticed by scholars less directly engaged with Corinthian matters who often

is so well-known, the issue of when exactly that area became the city's agora is controversial. There are very good reasons for thinking that the original agora of the city was located elsewhere in the city, somewhere to the east or southeast of the Akropolis.[12] There has been much debate about when the site of the Classical agora took over that function: in the sixth century (either under Solon or Peisistratos) or only when the boundary stones were erected at the beginning of the fifth.[13] These controversies are possible because even after over a century and a half of agora excavations there is still no consensus as to what an early agora actually was—a marketplace, a space for political gatherings, or festivals, or some combination of all of these; these interpretations all have their proponents.[14]

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assume that there is little question but that the forum was situated above the agora—e.g.—Hölscher 1998, 30–31; Marchetti 1998, 362–366; Kenzler 1999, 93–94, 108–109, 150–158, 213–216; Thomas 2013, 172. My own view is that the current state of evidence is insufficient to settle the issue. A full consideration of the problem lies outside the scope of this book though the issue is touched upon here on pp. 79–80, 91–2, 95, 107 and 217.

12 The principal reasons for thinking that the Classical agora had an Archaic predecessor in a different part of the city are: (i) Harpokration tells us so (Wycherley 1957, *731*) and (ii) it is clear that some of the oldest and most important buildings in ancient Athens such as the Theseion and, most significantly, the Prytaneion were not situated anywhere near the Classical agora; this suggests that this was not the original heart of the city. These buildings have not been discovered but Pausanias' testimony and certain epigraphic finds provide clues as to their location. It is clear that they must all have been somewhere between the northeast and southeast side of the Akropolis. The issue of their precise location and that of the hypothetical "Archaic Agora" has generated considerable discussion over the last half century—Oikonomides 1964, Miller 1995a; Robertson 1998; Schmalz 2006 Schmalz 2006; Dickenson 2015.

13 A Solonian date was favoured by Martin (1951, 261–273) and initially by John Camp (1986, 37–39). Camp has more recently argued (1994) that the area was first developed as an agora under the Peisistratids. The arguments for a fifth century date revolve around the interpretation of buildings C, D and F on the west side of the square. Building F was once thought to be the palace of the Peisistratids (suggested by Thompson 1962, 21; accepted by: Boersma 1970, 16–17 and 2000, Shear Jr. 1978, 5–7, Camp 1986, 44–46, and Stanton 1990, 65). John Papadopoulos has argued recently that Building F was a private dwelling and pottery workshop (2003, 296 and n. 142; 1996). Hansen and Fischer-Hansen (1994, 27) have pointed out that there is no evidence to justify the assumption that archaic tyrants even had palaces. Stephen Miller argues that none of the buildings C, D and F were political and believes that the area did not become the agora until the fifth century (1995a, 202 and n. 4). A problem with this logic is that, as Miller himself points out (ibid., 219 ff.) archaic agoras might not have needed much in the way of political architecture.

14 For references see here p. 107 and 157 n. 158.

Even for Hellenistic and Roman times scholars are not always sure what exactly an agora was, or how an agora might be recognised in the archaeological record. At Messene the Asklepieion was long thought to be the city's agora because of its architectural form—a courtyard surrounded by a peristyle.[15] On the other hand there is the city of Ephesos, long thought of as having two agoras, but where the identification of one of them has recently been called into question. Peter Scherrer has argued that the so-called "State Agora" was actually the cult centre of *divus Iulius and Roma*.[16] An important question is whether, even if Scherrer is right, this rules out the possibility that the square was also thought of as an agora. Scherrer puts the term "State Agora" in inverted commas, implying that the interpretation of the complex as designed for the imperial cult sits uneasily with his idea of what a true agora actually was.[17] Similarly, at Delos, the so-called "Agora of the Italians" has long vexed scholars as to whether it really was a kind of agora and what it was actually used for. The issue has only recently (possibly) been settled by Monika Trümper's extensive study.[18] At Stratoni in the Chalkidiki peninsula (possibly ancient Stratonikē) a square has been excavated, surrounded by workshops, warehouses and shops which the excavators refer to as the "agora" of the city.[19] However, the square measures a mere 21×13 m which means it is positively tiny compared to agoras elsewhere. In view of its diminutive size I wonder if the excavators are right to think of this square as an agora at all; can we be sure that the ancient inhabitants of Stratonike would have called it by that name?

As these examples illustrate, the problem of identifying an agora is, especially from Hellenistic times on, compounded by the fact that cities often had

15 On which see 2.2.

16 Mentioned by Cassius Dio 51.20.6 ff.; Scherrer 2001, 69.

17 E.g. Scherrer 2000, 78: "the so-called State Agora".

18 Originally interpreted by the French excavators as a commercial space for Italian residents on the island, hence the name by which it is still known. The first monograph on the building was by Lapalus 1939. It was subsequently interpreted as a slave market (by Cocco 1970 and Coarelli 1982 and 2005) and as a recreational, gymnasium-like complex (Rauh 1992, accepted by Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 219 ff.). Trümper's recent monograph is the most comprehensive study to date—Trümper 2008 (English summary—p. 407 ff.). Her conclusion, based on analysis of a full range of evidence relating to the building itself and comparanda from elsewhere in the Greek and Roman world, is that the building was *not* an agora but rather a "luxurious park-like meeting place with a garden, porticoes, *exedrae*, and a propylon".

19 Trakosopoulou and Papastathis 2011.

more than one agora.[20] It is fairly common, particularly for sites that are only partially understood, for scholars to talk of having found *the* agora. At Plataiai, for example, a recent state of the art geophysical survey has made it possible to reconstruct the Hellenistic city plan in an impressive level of detail.[21] The surveyors have identified two large squares adjacent to one another. The first with an open space measuring 160 × 85 m they interpret as the agora; the second, at 155 × 77 m is only slightly smaller yet they interpret this square as the sanctuary of Dionysos.[22] Two boundary stones inscribed "horos hieros" suggest that this was sacred ground and the fact that the theatre is located at the southern edge of the square leads to the suggestion that Dionysos was the god worshipped there. The interpretation is also presumably reinforced by an assumption that Plataiai only had one agora. Although the interpretation is plausible enough it is certainly not the only one possible. The boundary stones were not found *in situ* so we cannot be sure that they refer to the whole of this square; even if the whole square was designated as sacred space that doesn't mean that it was not also thought of as an agora—"sacred agoras" are attested at at least one site in Greece and one in Asia Minor; furthermore, theatres are known sometimes to have been positioned on the edge of an agora in a manner very reminiscent of the situation at the second square at Plataiai. In short we cannot exclude the possibility that the Plataians would have thought of this second square as a kind of agora. In Chapter One I shall make the case that they did. Here it is worth stressing the problem of interpretation that this example illustrates. Archaeologists are often keen to apply labels to the parts of ancient cities that they discover yet differentiating between areas of public space and identifying agoras is often far from straightforward.

For cities whose urban plans are only incompletely known it is especially difficult to be sure that a building or space has been identified correctly as an agora or whether all of the city's agoras have been discovered. It is quite possible, for example, that another, much larger "agora" might one day be found at Stratoni. Aelius Aristeides claims that at Smyrna the intersections of grand streets could function almost like agoras each serving as the focus of a city within the city.[23]

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20 The issue of cities having multiple agoras is discussed here in particular at 1.1, 1.3, 1.9, Chapter 2 *passim*, 3.5 and 3.6.

21 Konecny, Boyd et al. 2012.

22 Discussed in Konecny, Boyd et al. 2012 at 118–121 and 121–122 with excellent maps.

23 Aelius Aristeides 17 (*The Smyrnean Oration*) 11: "avenues like agoras, intersecting one another four times to receive the sun—I am close to saying what I denied before—creating many cities in their compass, each an imitation of the whole city"; and again 18.

Even at Athens, the polis that we know most about, the problem of multiple agoras is an issue. The literary sources refer to several different "agoras" in the city in Classical times—a Himatiopolis agora,[24] a women's agora,[25] an agora of Kerkopes (literally "tailed", here referring to thieves),[26] a "Kekropian agora"[27] and in Strabo's day, if not earlier, there was an area known as the "Eretria", which the geographer says was a kind of agora.[28] Whether these were separate areas or simply districts within the main agora is unclear.[29] Some scholars believe that the so-called "Archaic Agora", mentioned above, might have continued to exist in some recognisable form down to the Roman period when it was seen by Pausanias.[30] Then there is the so-called agora of the city deme of Koile, which has been excavated recently but not yet published.[31] Might the other city demes

(*A Monody for Smyrna*). 6: "The streets named for gold and sacred rites, at every square each like an agora".

24 Pollux 8, 78 = Wycherley 1957, ***663*** (also called Speiropolis).

25 Pollux 10, 18 = Wycherley 1957, ***613***, Theophrastos *Characters* 2,9 and 12,10 (ibid. ***667, 668***).

26 Diogenes Laertius 9,23,114 = Wycherley 1957, ***669***. Eustathius, *On Odyssey* 2,7 (***670***), Galen on Hippokrates' *Epidemiai* 3,5 (***671***), Hesychios = Wycherley 1957, ***672***, Zenobius 1,5 (***673***). Wycherley (p. 202) states that Hesychios also mentions an "Argive agora" at Athens and speculates that because of the Argive reputation for thievery this might be another name of the same place. See also n. 27 below.

27 Plutarch *Life of Kimon* 4,5–6 = Wycherley 1957, ***86***. The words "Kekrops" and "kerkopes" are remarkably similar which surely suggests that the two might have been one and the same place. Perhaps the word "Kekrops" in Plutarch is a corruption or maybe the term "kerkopes agora" originated as a pun on "Kekropian agora". To my knowledge the possibility of a connection between the two has not been previously explored.

28 Strabo 10.447–448.

29 The Athenians named areas of the agora by the merchandise that was sold there (Wycherley 1957, 193–206). The fact that the word "agora" is explicitly used in connection with these products, however, means that we cannot rule out that these were separate market areas as opposed to parts of the main square.

30 E.g. Robertson 1998; Papadopoulos 2003, Ch. 5; Schmalz 2006. Their argument is that because Pausanias uses the word "Kerameikos" when describing the Classical Athenian agora, his use of the word "agora" at the end of that description (1.17.1) must mean that he is now talking about a different square; because he then goes on to consider some of the buildings that these scholars would locate near this hypothetical "Archaic Agora" (on which see n. 12 above) they believe that it is this square he is referring to. If this interpretation were correct it would be very interesting for our purposes because it would mean that the "Archaic Agora" was still to be seen in the Roman period. However, I find it far more likely that, if he is making a deliberate distinction, Pausanias is referring to the Roman Agora. That idea was tentatively suggested by Vanderpool 1974. I argue this case in full in Dickenson 2015.

31 Discussed briefly in the tourist booklet—Lazaridou and Dakoura-Vogiatzoglou 2004, 16–

have had their own agoras within the city walls? Finally there is the so-called "Roman Agora", well established on the modern tourist route, but its name a modern coinage, as yet uncorroborated by a single ancient source.[32]

Although scholars usually apply the label "agora" with confidence to open areas and buildings found within an ancient polis, behind that confidence lurks a rather deep-seated uncertainty as to what the word is actually being used to describe. Would the Athenians have been likely to refer to their Roman market building as an agora? Even if Scherrer is right that the Ephesian "State Agora" was an imperial cult centre, might it not still have been thought of as a kind of agora? Might the Messenians have seen their Asklepieion as similar to the specialised political and religious agoras seen in some cities? Should we, as one scholar has recently proposed, think of the Altis at Olympia as roughly equivalent to a Greek agora?[33] These are not easy questions to answer but they are certainly worth asking.

If it is often uncertain whether the spaces that archaeologists refer to as agoras have been identified correctly, it is just as difficult to pin down what exactly is meant when ancient authors or inscriptions refer to an "agora". It is clear that the word carried a wide range of meanings for the ancient Greeks. It was perhaps most often used to describe the physical spaces within cities that archaeologists hope to identify; however, even here the word is problematic because, especially from Hellenistic times on, it could refer to multipurpose public squares, to specialised market buildings or to spaces more geared towards politics and administration.[34] Which type of agora is being referred to in a given source is therefore often ambiguous. In addition the word could refer to a range of less tangible objects connected with the spheres of politics and commerce. It could refer to the things sold in the market and often means provisions or supplies;[35] like the English word "market" it could apparently be

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18, with photographs. Stephen Lambert discusses an inscription which mentions a cult place of the Salaminioi in the "agora in Koile"—Lambert 1997. It has been suggested that the inscription actually refers to an agora in the neighbourhood of Sounion but Lambert disputes this (ibid. n. 24).

32 See here 3.5.

33 Heiden 2006.

34 This ambiguity is acknowledged, by Coulton 1976, 175–176.

35 Diodorus Siculus 11.5, 11.20, 11.80, 14.19, 14.26, 14.96, 14.108, 15.3, 15.34, 15.41, 16.3, 16.18, 16.40, 17.8, 17.105, 18.13, 20.5, 20.22, 20.62, 20.82, 20.84, 20.93, 20.96, 20.98, 20.108, 20.109, 24.1, Dionysios of Halikarnassos 2.53.2, 2.55.4, 3.44.1, 5.26.5, 5.31.1, 5.52.2, 5.58.4, 5.63.3, 6.17.4, 7.2.2, 7.12.3, 7.14.4, 7.19.1, 7.20.2, 7.20.4, 7.24.1, 7.24.2, 7.28.3, 7.37.2, 7.37.5, 7.44.3, 8.19.4, 8.21.2, 8.66.3, 9.15.6, 9.25.1, 9.26.1, 9.26.9, 9.29.4, 9.61.3, 9.62.1, 10.43.6, 11.23.3, 11.24.2, 12.1.2,

used to refer to "the market" in the abstract sense.[36] It could refer to an assembly of people, often, but not always, for political purposes.[37] In Roman times it was one of the words the Greeks used for the assizes.[38] Ancient readers must have known what the word meant in a given context but for modern interpreters this is often rather less clear.

Beyond considering the actual meaning of the word it is important—perhaps more important—to think about the connotations and associations that it had for the ancient Greeks. This is another area where modern scholarship has been characterised by several key assumptions that have rarely been given much explicit consideration. Perhaps most fundamental to modern attitudes is the assumption that an agora was somehow intrinsically and uniquely Greek. Support for this notion has been found in the passage of Herodotus where the Persian king tells the envoy of the Lakedaimonians that he does not understand the Greek habit of bartering publicly in the agora.[39] Just a

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12.1.7, 12.1.11. 15.4.3. Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 5.7.49; *Lives of the Sophists* 2. 560.10.

36 As seems to be the case in Dionysios of Halikarnassos 5.66.3 and Diodorus Siculus 13.3.

37 Throughout the Hellenistic period the word "agora" continued to be used in some places and in certain contexts to refer to political assemblies—Martin 1951, 283 ff.—deme assemblies in Attica, assemblies in Cretan cities etc. On the problem of whether the deme assemblies, known as "agorai" were actually held in the agora see Whitehead 1986, 15–16 and 86–88. In the second century BC Polybios used the word "agora" to refer to meetings of the Achaian League—Polybios 28.6.3 and 29.24.5; the word "agora" appears as the standard term for political assemblies in inscriptions from this time from Delphi—"agora teleios"—see Martin ibid., 283 for references; finally, at the end of the period Dionysios of Halikarnassos uses it frequently to refer to political assemblies in Italy and Rome—Dionysios of Halikarnassos *On Demosthenes' Style*—23.46; *Roman Antiquities* 2.31, 2.36.3, 3.34.3, 3.51.3, 3.59.4, 4.45.3, 5.40.1, 5.50.2, 5.50.3, 5.52.2, 5.52.3, 5.61.1, 8.4.3, 8.58.1, 9.18.2, 9.23.5, 10.3.4, 10.36.1. Another reference translated as "assembly" is 8.58.3 although there the meaning seems more likely to have been "forum".

38 In, for example, Aelius Aristeides 50 (*The Sacred Tales* 4). 78 and 106. On other words used for "assize" see Burton 1975, 92 with references.

39 Herodotus 1.153. The importance of this passage is stressed by—Martin 1951, 281; Kolb 1984, 1 n. 2; see also Kolb, Frank "Agora". *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*. Ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Leiden, Brill, 2005. The political significance attributed to this passage has been challenged by Mogens Herman Hansen (1997, 61 and see also Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 46), who argues that the passage only concerns the commercial character of the agora. The passage has also been considered by Paul Millett (1998, 221) who recognizes that the contrast between Greeks and Persians here has something to do with trading but finds the exact meaning hard to pin down asking "wherein lies the Greekness?" Alain Bresson has argued recently that

few decades after Herodotus, however, Xenophon used the word agora to refer to Persian public squares.[40] Either the gap between Greek and Persian culture had rapidly narrowed in the intervening years or we must conclude that it was the not the agora *per se* that Herodotus was emphasising as particularly Greek but rather the way in which the Greeks conducted themselves there.[41]

Another idea that has become popular in modern scholarship on the agora, which also derives from an ancient literary passage, is that the Greeks distinguished between different types of agora. In describing the agora of Elis the second century AD traveller Pausanias tells us that "it is not after the fashion of the cities of Ionia and of the Greek cities near Ionia; it is built in the old manner with porticoes separated from each other and with streets through them".[42] On the basis of that remark the term "Ionian Agora" has entered the modern literature as a distinct type of square that scholars have tried to distinguish in the archaeological remains. For Roland Martin and Richard Ernest Wycherley, two extremely influential scholars of ancient urbanism of the mid

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the story must have become a literary trope because a very similar episode is recounted by Diogenes Laertius and attributed to Anacharsis, one of the so-called "seven sages" (Diogenes Laertius 1.105)—Bresson 2008, 17.

40 Xenophon Education of Cyrus 1.2.3. He states that the Persians had separate agoras in their cities, an "ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ καλουμένη" where the palace and governmental buildings were located and another for market trading. He does not actually name the place where the markets were held but, interestingly, does refer to "hucksters, with their wares, their cries and their vulgarities", which conjures up much the sort of scene that Herodotus apparently denies was to be found in Persian cities. On the question of separate agoras Cf Aristotle's "Thessalian Free Agora" (discussed at 1.1).

41 J.J. Coulton (1976, 174ff.) uses Herodotus' testimony to argue that Xenophon had got it wrong. I believe it makes more sense to put our trust in Xenophon, who had spent a significant amount of time in Persian lands and had become familiar with Persian customs, and to conclude that it is Herodotus' reference which is, for whatever reason, misleading. Coulton also argues that Strabo contradicts Xenophon on this point at 15.3.19. Apart from the fact that Strabo is a very late author to compare with Xenophon on this issue, more important is that the two do not actually contradict each other. Strabo merely says that Persian men served as soldiers between the ages of twenty and fifty and during that time refrained from entering the agora and from buying and selling ("ἀγορᾶς δὲ οὐχ ἅπτονται· οὔτε γὰρ πωλοῦσιν οὔτ' ὠνοῦνται"). It is thus clear that by "agora" he here means a commercial market. This says nothing about whether the Persians had separate squares for politics and commerce. In fact, confirmation of the fact that they did comes from a source much closer to Strabo in time. Appian (*The Civil Wars* 2.101) states that this Persian custom was the inspiration behind Julius Caesar's new forum at Rome.

42 Pausanias 6.24.2.

twentieth century the "Ionian Agora" was the horseshoe type of square seen at certain sites in western Asia Minor (Ionia) in the late Classical/early Hellenistic period, whereby three sides of the open space were lined by a continuous pi-shaped stoa with a road passing along the remaining side, lined by a fourth stoa.[43] The term continues to appear even in fairly recent scholarship, though with less precision as to what exactly it refers to. Most often scholars seem to think of the "Ionian Agora" as the fully enclosed or peristyle type of square that first appeared in Hellenistic times but only became common under the Roman Empire.

I have argued elsewhere that far too much significance has been given here to what is actually a fairly casual remark in Pausanias and that the term is not helpful in understanding either how the Greeks experienced their agoras or the evolution of agora planning.[44] After all, Pausanias was writing in the 2nd century AD which makes it very unlikely that he can have been referring to a specific type of agora plan that emerged some five or six centuries earlier, the period in which Wycherley and Martin sought the origins of the "Ionian Agora". Furthermore, new archaeological discoveries suggest that fully enclosed agoras emerged in other parts of the Greek world earlier than in Asia Minor so that it is unlikely that at that time the Greeks would have associated the enclosure of the agora with Ionia. When the Hellenistic agora of Pella in Macedonia is being suggested as one of the earliest "Ionian Agoras" it is surely time to ask why the term is being used at all.[45] Classifying ancient buildings or public spaces according to type can allow analysis of the potential spread of ideas from place to place or the examination of change over time. We must be careful, however, not to assume that the labels we come up with tell us very much about the ancient meaning of buildings and spaces. We should also be particularly cautious not to read too much significance in what appear to be key passages of ancient authors.

Similarly, scholars often assume that there is some fundamental difference between the nature of a Greek agora and a Roman forum.[46] This assumption is

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43 Wycherley 1942, Martin 1951, 372–417.

44 Dickenson Forthcoming-b.

45 As do Hoff 1988, 248–250 and, drawing on his work, Evangelidis 2014, 337.

46 Shipley and Hansen have recently described the Roman Agora at Athens as "really a forum with colonnades"—Shipley and Hansen 2006, 67. They thus imply a clear-cut distinction between the two concepts, without making explicit what the difference was. Shear 1981 (p. 360), talking also of the Roman Agora at Athens calls it the "new forum at Athens—for such it truly is". Lea Stirling talks of Roman forums often being located at a different location to the old agora in Greek cities "as at Athens"—Stirling 2006, 80. The opposition

also questionable. The closest thing to an explicit comparison between the two by an ancient author can be found in the work of Vitruvius. He contrasts agoras and forums in terms of their shape—the former are square whereas the latter tend to be rectangular, a feature that he says made them more suited to the gladiatorial combats that were held there.[47] The word that Vitruvius uses for both, however, is "forum". Indeed, Latin authors never seem to have had trouble using the word to refer to a Greek agora.[48] Conversely Greek authors always refer to Roman forums as agoras.[49] This is true even of Pausanias, who one scholar recently suggested would only have used the word "agora" to describe an old Greek square, but who refers to the forums of Roman colonies like Corinth and Patras as "agoras" and even uses the word of Trajan's Forum in Rome.[50] Throughout Hellenistic and Roman times the Greeks use the word "agora" to refer to public squares in a wide range of cultures.[51]

I am not suggesting that there was nothing quintessentially Greek about the agora as a type of public square. As we shall see throughout this book the combination of particular types of buildings, monuments and activities found on agoras certainly did produce squares that were not quite like those found in any other time or culture. However, there is no evidence that the rigid distinctions employed by modern scholars, particularly that between the agora and the forum, were known to the ancient world. Although some will surely find the idea a disappointing one, the Greeks were perhaps less aware of the intrinsic "Greekness" of their agoras than we are.

Another suggestion that has been made for the Classical period is that the centrality of the agora to the polis way of life can be seen in the way that

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between "agora" and "forum" also features in the work of one of the 20th century's leading thinkers on social space, Henri Lefebvre—Lefebvre 1991 (1974), 237–241.

47 Vitruvius 5.1.1.

48 E.g. Apuleius *Golden Ass* 1.24–25, 2.2.5, 3.2. Referring to the Athenian agora—Cornelius Nepos *Chabrias*, 1.2–3 = Wycherley 1957, ***694***; *Timotheus* 2,3 = ibid., ***712***.

49 A complete list is unnecessary but examples are found in the writings of Cassius Dio, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysios of Halikarnassos and even Pausanias (for the latter see Dickenson 2015, 74–743.

50 Schmalz 2006, 39–40 argues that Pausanias could not for that reason have been referring to the Roman Agora at Athens when he used the word. Pausanias discusses the forums of Corinth and Patras at 2.2.6–2.3.2 and 7.20.5–7 respectively and refers to Trajan's Forum at 20.3.7 and 10.5.11.

51 At Tyre (Diodorus Siculus 17.47), Carthage (Diodorus Siculus 20.9, 20.43, 32.6), Babylon (Diodorus Siculus 34/5.21) (possibly a real Greek style agora in light of the city population having a Greek component at that that time—see e.g. Ma 2003, 192), Ethiopia (Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 6.2.5–11).

the Greeks used expressions relating to life on the agora as ways of telling the time. Such expressions can be found in the writings of Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon.[52] This use of the literary sources has the advantage over the use of the passages in Herodotus and Pausanias that we have just considered in that here we are not dealing with apparent observations on the nature of the agora—which there is always a danger of over-reading—but rather with phrases that were presumably in daily use. As we shall see in the following section, scholars have often assumed that by Roman times the agora had become less important in the life of the polis. As such, the significance of such phrases for this period have not been considered even though they occur in the sources with no less frequency than for earlier times.[53] It is possible that the expressions had become fossilised in the minds of those who used them and had lost all direct association with day-to-day life on the agora. I suggest, however, that the fact that scholars have been quick to pick up on their significance for the Classical period and have generally ignored them for later periods says more about the assumptions with which modern scholars have approached the post-Classical periods than it does about the Hellenistic or Roman importance of the agora.

The difficulty of reconstructing the conceptual terrain that the word "agora" encompassed in antiquity can be appreciated by thinking about the significance that should be attributed to certain further comments found in the ancient literary sources. For example, when Philostratus, writing in the third century AD, tells us that the Eretrians, resettled by Darius in Persian lands, constructed "temples in the Greek style, and an agora large enough for their purpose", did he believe that they did so because the agora was something particularly Greek, or because this is what any urban people would have done?[54] When Philostratus again in a similar vein to Herodotus' Cyrus, points to a love of hard bargaining as a defining characteristic of the Greek people, would

52 'When the agora is full' was a way of saying mid morning: Herodotus 2.173, 4.181, 7.223; Thucydides 8.92.2; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.1.10; the 'breaking-up of the agora' referred to the end of the morning: Herodotus 3.104. The significance of these phrases is discussed by Martin 1951, 281; Millett 1998, 212.

53 E.g. Dio Chrysostom 36.1.4, 67.5.7 (πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν), Aelius Aristeides 50. (*The Sacred Tales* 4) 48 "πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν" (translated by Behr as "public assembly" but that meaning is not obvious and not particularly suggested by the context), Athenaeus 14.613 (πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς). Athenaeus (6.270d) tells of a sophist who was nicknamed Plethagoras, presumably because he gave his lectures at the hour when the agora was full. Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 7.29.3 (πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν), 7.31.5, (ἀγορᾶς πληθούσης) Cf. 2.36.39–40 referring to the morning as "when the agora is full" (ὁπότε ἀγορὰ πλήθει).

54 Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 1.24.25–29.

many Greeks of the Roman period have recognised themselves in the image he sketches, or is this merely the product of Philostratus' upper class education, which included, no doubt, a thorough familiarity with Herodotus?[55] These are not easy questions to answer but asking them reminds us how easy it is to impose our own assumptions onto the values expressed in ancient sources, and how difficult it can be to reconstruct ancient values and in particular to trace how they changed over time.

The agora, both physically and conceptually, is thus a far more elusive subject than is often assumed. It is difficult to pin down both how we recognise an agora in the archaeological record, and what life on the agora meant for ancient Greek city dwellers at different periods in their long history. In exploring the transformation of the agora throughout Hellenistic and Roman times it is therefore imperative to continue to question the prejudices with which we approach the evidence. Let us now consider in slightly more detail how scholarship over the last half-century or so has shaped both modern visions of the ancient agora, and the way that the agora has been approached.

2 An Overview of Modern Agora Scholarship

An overview of previous research on the Greek agora must begin with Roland Martin's seminal 1951 work *Recherches sur l'agora grecque*. Martin wrote in a well-established tradition of Greek architectural and urban planning history but he was the first to treat the agora as a subject worthy of attention in its own right.[56] After more than half a century the book is unsurpassed in its breadth of coverage and remains a valuable reference work. Certain aspects of the work are, however, now out-dated and Martin's approach, particularly to the post-Classical periods, leaves considerable room for further investigation of the ancient agora as a lived in public space.

Martin was primarily an architectural historian and devoted considerable attention to determining the origins of various developments in agora planning, a topic to which he took a rather positivistic approach. For example, he traced the line of development of the horseshoe type of agora that he believed to be Pausanias' "Ionian Agora" from Miletos, to Priene, to Magnesia on the Maeander, as if the influence of each site upon the next could be clearly demon-

55 Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 6.2.14.

56 Earlier studies of Greek urbanism and public space—e.g. Curtius 1848, Wymer 1916, von Gerkan 1924.

strated.[57] However, subsequent discoveries have done much to disrupt this apparent pattern. The excavations at Pella, in particular, show that full enclosure of a Greek agora occurred much earlier than was previously thought, and in a different part of the Greek world. Now that our understanding of the history of Greek urbanism outside Asia Minor has improved, it is easy to see that the trajectory of agora development presented by Martin was heavily determined by the evidence available at the time.

The state of archaeological knowledge is, of course, always largely the product of the double coincidence of good preservation of particular sites and the discovery and excavation of the sites in modern times and we should be cautious in assuming that even now we have a representative sample of agoras in antiquity. Nonetheless, since Martin's day a tremendous amount of new excavation data has accumulated. In 1951 the Athenian agora Excavations were still in their infancy and Martin's discussions of that site have been superseded by subsequent discoveries and more recent scholarship.[58] Furthermore, whole new agora sites have been discovered and excavated which Martin was unable to consider. Significantly many of these new sites are to be found in Greece which means there is now considerable potential to reassess the place of that country in the evolution of the agora, and to correct for the over reliance in older studies, like Martin's, on evidence from sites in Asia Minor.

Though Martin makes extensive use of literary evidence, here too he is rather positivistic. He traces a fairly clear-cut progression in the concept of the agora from Homer, through Hesiod, Herodotus, the Athenian playwrights, and culminating in the work of Plato and Aristotle. He pays little concern to the possibility that this rather linear development might be distorted by the fact that these authors were writing in a quite disparate range of genres. He is also eager to attribute major innovations in agora planning to individuals mentioned by these sources, such as Kimon or Hippodamos.[59] Again, he does not consider the ways in which our impression of the role of such men might be distorted by the choices that the authors made in recording them, or by the uneven sample of ancient literature that has survived. In combining literary and archaeological sources Martin tended to give precedence to the former, looking wherever possible for passages by ancient authors that seem to explicitly explain the meaning of the built environment. The importance of Miletos in the history

57 Martin 1951, 372–408. He dealt with sites that do not fit into his neat pattern later.

58 Martin 1951, esp. 319 ff. on the problem of whether the Royal Stoa should be identified with the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. Subsequent excavations have clearly shown these to have been two separate buildings, on which see here 1.4.

59 E.g. Martin 1951, 316 ff. on Kimon's influence.

of agora planning is, for example established by the city's known conection to Hippodamos.[60] Privileging the literary sources in this way severely limits the potential value of the archaeological evidence.

A final critique of Martin's approach to the literary evidence is that he believes that only passages that explicitly discuss the agora have anything to say about its meaning in Greek culture. He only uses passing references where they attest to the presence of particular buildings or monuments and stresses that the latest discussion of the place of the agora within the polis, in all of Greek literature, is to be found in Aristotle;[61] the implication seems to be that later references to the agora in literary sources have little to teach us about its changing function. Below I will argue that it is actually often where literary sources mention the agora only in passing that they are most revealing about the meaning of the agora in ancient culture.

The period covered by Martin's study ranged from the Bronze Age to the early Hellenistic period but he plainly held the Archaic and Classical periods in highest regard. This coloured his interpretation of what happened to the agora in later periods. Such was his preference for the earlier periods of Greek history that even the fourth century at Athens was for him a period of decline.[62] In making this case Martin faced a major problem in reconciling this vision of post-fifth century decline with the fact that most of the best archaeological evidence was much later, and that it was also clear enough, even to Martin, that it was only in the late Classical and Hellenistic period that regularly planned agoras became the norm. Martin's solution was to explain this phenomenon as the final trajectory of developments that had their beginnings much earlier. This allowed him to discuss the agoras of cities founded by Alexander's successors as expressions of the ideal "Ionian" type, invented, as he saw it, in the early fourth century. He did not, however, extend his study beyond the Hellenistic period because for him the Greek city was effectively dead by then.[63] Martin was clearly influenced by ideas of the post-Classical decline of the polis,[64] which were, as we shall see below, widely held at the time he was writing. In

60 Martin 1951, 361 ff.

61 Martin 1951, 10.

62 Martin 1951, esp. 306–308. Cf Millett's explicit critique of Martin (1998, 221–222), arguing that he has allowed himself to be swayed too much by Aristotle.

63 Martin 1951, 545: "Les développements exagérés, hors de proportions, les excroissances gigantesques qui s'accrochent à la cité comme un organisme parasite n'apparaissent qu'après la décadence de la *Polis*; le sens de la mesure fait place à la recherche du grandiose, mais l'histoire de l'agora grecque est terminée".

64 On which see here 1.3.

terms of the agora the decline was seen to manifest itself in the increasing enclosure of the open space.[65]

In this connection it is worth drawing attention to the work of Martin's contemporary, Richard Ernest Wycherley, who also published extensively on matters of Greek urbanism. On most fundamental points Wycherley shared Martin's take on the agora and Greek urban history in general.[66] In particular, for Wycherley too the enclosure of the agora was a symptom of decline and the end of the Greek polis.[67] Although both scholars recognised that this development had roots in Greek culture both attributed the ultimate decline of the agora to the coming of Rome and the concomitant loss of political freedom. Both the approach and the interpretations of Martin and Wycherley have had a tenacious hold over the scholarly imagination and still influence the way that scholars write about the agora today.

In the decades following their work, agoras continued to be excavated and work published on individual sites but, with some notable exceptions, there was little interest in the agora as a subject for comparative research. Martin himself published further reflections on the subject, including a comparison between agoras and Roman forums, where he made more explicit his views that the eventual enclosure of both was a symptom of the decline of the city.[68] Frank Kolb's 1981 book *Agora und Theater* did much to deepen our understanding of the earliest function of the agora. Kolb argued for a development from the early agora as a multipurpose festival area toward the increasing specialisation of space within the city and the transfer of dramatic festivals and political meetings to the theatre. Like Martin, however, his interest did not extend beyond the early Hellenistic period and his work places rather too much reliance on the Athenian literary evidence in making generalisations about the function of agoras elsewhere that ultimately cannot be proved.[69] At around the same time Jean-Pierre Vernant was exploring the way that the Greeks conceived of space.[70] Drawing exclusively on literary sources and taking a structuralist approach, he noted a certain secularization and rationalisation of the space of

65 See also here 24, 204, 232 and section 4.3.

66 See Wycherley 1954; Martin 1949.

67 The similarity of their appraisals of the peristyle agora speaks volumes: Wycherley 1962, 83: "when the agora became a mere building, however grand, this meant a certain disintegration of the city"; Martin 1951, 375: "c' est seulement au moment où la notion de polis s' est vidée de son contenu que l' agora devient un édifice isolé".

68 Martin 1972.

69 See the reviews by Seaford 1983 and Tomlinson 1984.

70 Vernant 1983.

the agora in the Classical period. His concern was once again only for the Classical period, above all for Athens, and it is difficult to find connections between his reflections on space in a rather abstract sense and what must have been the ancient Greek experience of being on the agora. His approach to the literary evidence is also open to the same points of criticism as Martin's. He too assumes it is possible to trace a changing conception of urban space through the Archaic and Classical literary sources without paying much attention to questions of genre.

Apart from the work of Kolb and Vernant, the agora fell somewhat out of favour as a subject for comparative research between the 1960s and 1990s. This period witnessed a significant shift in focus within the discipline of Classical Archaeology to new research agendas, methods and techniques. Two new areas of research stand out as particularly important. Firstly there was the rise of survey archaeology, which now holds a place of central importance in the discipline;[71] more recently there has been an upsurge of interest in domestic archaeology and the study of houses.[72] The two trends are driven by a similar motivation. They reflect a desire to break free from what had long been core areas of concern for Classical archaeologists—sites that could be matched to the literary sources and the study of monumental art and architecture. They represent a move away from a more art-historical approach towards a more "scientific" archaeology, which draws on advances in other types of archaeology, particularly prehistoric archaeology.[73] The attractions of these areas of research is that they both allow questions to be asked about groups (e.g. women, children, the poor, slaves, the non-elite in general) and issues (e.g. economic structures, landscape use) on which the written sources give little information.

Both areas of interest have to do with connecting society with space. With so much interest in landscapes and houses, however, there has been little consideration for space at anything between these two scales, for example at the scale of cities or sanctuaries.[74] This tendency to focus on either macro or micro scales

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71 For a recent consideration of the impact of survey as a method within Greek archaeology see Alcock 2007, esp. pp. 122–125. It would be redundant to provide a list of surveys carried out in the Greek world in a book concerned with urban rather than rural space but see Alcock 1994a for an overview of work carried out up to that time and Stewart 2014 for a useful and up to date reflection on where survey archaeology has brought our understanding of rural Greece in the Roman period.

72 Cahill 2002; Jameson 1990; Wulf-Rheidt 1998; Nevett 1999 and 2010.

73 For an overview of changing approaches in recent times in Greek archaeology see Whitley 2001, 42–59.

74 The tendency for Classical archaeologists to focus on space at the two extremes of scale has also been pointed out recently by Scott 2010, 12 ff.

of space is also connected to the timescales that archaeologists have been interested in. It has long been recognised that archaeological data could be used to investigate each of the three timescales argued for by Fernand Braudel and his Annales school: (a) the short term: the individual lifetime, (b) the middle term: historical time and (c) the 'longue-durée': the slow processes that play out over centuries or even thousands of years.[75] However, recent archaeological research in Greece has tended to focus most on the two extremes of this range (i.e. (a) and (c)). Micro-studies of domestic space, particularly when a single destruction event has preserved a useful amount of small find material *in situ*, allow glimpses of single moments in time.[76] Survey archaeology on the other hand produces data relating to vast expanses of time. The pottery chronology on which survey archaeologists rely to date sites is usually only accurate enough to allow rather rough periodization: Survey archaeologists talk at the level of precision of "Iron Age", "Late Classical", or "Early Roman sites".[77]

Ian Morris has argued that archaeology has an important role to play in exploring cultural change between these two extremes, at the medium term, or historical, timescale.[78] One way to access this historical timescale is to focus on data relating to areas of public space. Excavations of cities or sanctuaries produce archaeological evidence that often allow architectural transformations to be dated to within generations. This is much closer to the timescale of the historian. Indeed we might wonder what the point is in excavating such sites if the goal is not to produce historical evidence and connect with historical debate.

75 For relevance of the thinking of the Annales School to archaeology see the edited volumes by Bintliff 1991 and Knapp 1992.

76 The classic cases are, of course, Pompeii and Herculaneum. The destruction of Olynthos by Philip of Macedon, though not resulting in anything like the level of preservation at these sites, did preserve a wealth of small find material *in situ*, making possible Nicholas Cahill's work on the houses there—Cahill 2002.

77 Susan Alcock lists the main chronological categories that survey archaeologists in Greece work with—Alcock 2007, 124. As she suggests, when no attempt is made to divide the period into smaller segments, the "Roman Period" can often cover more than half a millennium (31 BC–c. 500 AD).

78 Morris 2000, 4–6, following Fernand Braudel, identifies three time scales in which historians have been interested—the geographical (the famous longue durée), social (periods of from 5 to 50 years over which meaningful institutional and constitutional change could occur) and individual (event based history). Morris argues (ibid. p. 6) that for Dark Age and Archaic Greece the archaeological data "leaves us on the cusp between social and individual time" and thus allows worthwhile historical enquiry. The same can certainly be said of the Hellenistic and Roman evidence.

Yet, as I shall argue below, too often the archaeological evidence has been made to fit preconceived ideas about ancient society and culture rather than being used to argue for new interpretations.

Susan Alcock in her seminal book on Roman Greece, *Graecia Capta*, (a book that makes exhaustive use of survey data) suggested that it would be useful to know how urban space changed in response to Roman rule. She argues, however, that the archaeological evidence is simply not sufficient to allow such an enquiry.[79] Alcock is right if she means that we can only study urban space if a large proportion of the plan of an ancient city is known. Few ancient cities in Greece have anything like the potential for the type of hi-tech spatial analysis which has been carried out in recent years at Pompeii and well-preserved, well exposed Roman sites elsewhere.[80] However, there certainly is enough archaeological evidence to compare the way that the civic centres of Greek cities were transformed under the Empire, as there is for the Hellenistic period.

Recently scholars have begun to recognise that the final word has not been said on public space in the ancient polis.[81] The agora in particular has seen a resurgence of interest among Classical archaeologists. Possibly inspired by Kolb's work, this trend has been particularly pronounced in the German-speaking world. The last twelve years have witnessed the publication of a new study of the Archaic and Classical agora, and several articles on the subject by Ulf Kenzler, a discussion of the agora, along with other areas of public space in Classical Athens, by Tonio Hölscher, and the proceedings of a conference about the agora edited by Wolfram Hoepfner and Lauri Lehmann.[82] Barbara Sielhorst has recently published a monograph on Hellenistic agoras.[83] Monika Trümper, as mentioned already, has published an extensive study of the "Agora of the Italians" at Delos.[84]

There has, however, also been a growing interest in the agora among scholars from other parts of the world. Jamieson Donati has recently completed a PhD thesis on the Archaic and Classical agoras of the Peloponnese at the University

79 Alcock 1993, 93.

80 On Pompeii—Laurence 1994; for Roman Empúries in Spain—Kaiser 2000.

81 On public space in general see Dickenson and Nijf 2013.

82 Kenzler 1999; Kenzler 1997; Kenzler has recently extended his interest in the agora into Roman Asia Minor—Kenzler 2013. Hölscher 1998 (see also Hölscher 2007), Hoepfner and Lehmann 2006.

83 Sielhorst 2015. The book is a substantially revised version of her PhD thesis—Sielhorst 2011b. See also Sielhorst 2011a for a succinct overview of some of her key ideas.

84 Trümper 2008.

of New York.[85] The French scholar Jean-Yves Marc, an expert on the agora of Thasos, has carried out some comparative research into the nature of the Greek agora.[86] In 2009 a conference was held at the École Française at Athens on the commercial aspect of the ancient agora, the proceedings of which were published in 2012.[87] The papers from a colloquium on ancient markets held at the Institut d'Études Anatoliennes in Istanbul in 2010 were published together with those from an earlier colloquium on basilicas in 2012.[88] In 2009 Vasilis Evangelidis completed a PhD at the University of Thessalonikē on the transformation of the agoras of Greece in Roman times; the book has not, as yet, been published but some of the main arguments have appeared in two articles.[89] In 2011 the Archaeological Institute of Aegean Studies held a conference on "The Agora in the Mediterranean from Homeric to Roman Times", on Kos.[90] Historians too have begun to take a greater interest in the ancient agora. In particular it is worth drawing attention to two important articles by Paul Millett and Kostas Vlassopoulos, which both make extensive use of literary sources to argue for the political importance of day-to-day life on the Athenian agora in Classical and Hellenistic times.[91]

It is also worth noting that this renewed interest in the Greek agora has been paralleled in studies of the Roman West, and later periods. I know of three PhD theses, completed recently, that have investigated Roman forums as public spaces.[92] At the time of completing this book I was aware of one major publication on public space in the city of Rome that had just appeared and another that was due to appear shortly.[93] Finally, Luke Lavan in a series of

85 Donati 2010b. In a recent article on Peloponnesian agoras (2015, 178–182) Donati gives his own overview of agora scholarship from Martin to the present day though with significant ommissions including the work of Sielhorst and Evangelidis (admittedly dealing with periods later than his main interest) and, more egregiously, Kolb.

86 Marc 1998.

87 Chankowski and Karvonis 2012.

88 Cavalier and Descat 2012.

89 Thesis: Evangelidis 2007. Articles: Evangelidis 2008, Evangelidis 2014.

90 Giannikouri 2011. I participated in the conference and contributed a paper to the proceedings that makes the argument that the political importance of the Roman period agora has been underestimated in previous scholarship—Dickenson 2011.

91 Millett 1998 and Vlassopoulos 2007a. My only reservation about these two stimulating articles is that the exceptional nature of the Athenian evidence leads them to overstate the extent to which the Athenian agora was exceptional in terms of the role that it played in shaping the political life of the polis.

92 Doms 2010; Newsome 2010; Trifilo 2009.

93 Russell 2015; Davies Forthcoming.

recent studies has explored the transformation of both agoras and forums in Mediterranean cities in Late Antiquity.[94] There is clearly a growing feeling that ancient public space is an important subject that deserves our attention.

It is symptomatic of how times have changed since Martin's day that a significant amount of this new research has focused on the later periods of Greek history. In terms of the questions asked and the answers arrived at, however, a lot of recent agora scholarship is still very much in the tradition in which Martin and Wycherley wrote. The open type of agora plan that was common in the Classical period still tends to be idealised and the idea that increasing monumentality was a sign of political decline still tends to be tacitly accepted. Frank Kolb, for instance, in the New Pauly lemma on "agora" expresses a rather similar attitude to Martin and Wycherley toward the main tendencies of development in Roman times: "The preference for *architectural symmetry over political function* characterizes the development of the agora from *a political to an architectural* centre of the polis." (My emphases).[95] Recently the addition of a large stoa to the agora of the small site of Kastro in Kallithea in the 3rd century BC has been described as transforming the square into "a 'monumental' space rather than an area meant for intensive daily economic use".[96] This assumption that architectural symmetry and monumentality cannot go hand-in-hand with political or economic activity is highly questionable and deserves to be challenged. The Roman period generally still gets short shrift in diachronic overviews of agora development such as those by Hoepfner in the introduction to his co-edited conference proceedings and Ryan Boehm in his "agora" lemma for the recent Encyclopaedia of Ancient History, published by Blackwell.[97] Scholars still find it useful to classify agoras according to type and still refer to the existence of the so-called "Ionian Agora".[98] The idea that in the Roman period agoras became like museums has also gone unchallenged and continues to be asserted.[99]

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94 Lavan 2007, 2006.

95 Kolb, Frank "Agora". *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*. Ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Leiden, Brill, 2005.

96 Haagsma, Karapanou et al. 2011, 206. That conclusion has been drawn in spite of the fact that pieces of storage pottery and transport amphorae have been found within the building, which suggest that if anything it enhanced the city's economic facilities—ibid., 204.

97 Hoepfner 2006, Boehm 2012.

98 E.g. Winter 2006, 119, Emme 2013, 8, Marc 2001, 511, Hoepfner 2006, 17–18, Sielhorst 2015, 100, 108, 159, Evangelidis 2007, 337.

99 E.g. Marc 1998, 4 and Hoepfner 2006, 23–26, Cf Sielhorst 2015, 176 who challenges this interpretation. Her vision that Hellenistic agoras became increasingly important as representational settings for monuments at the expense of day-to-day activity does, however,

Even Vasilis Evangelidis' work—to take the most nuanced and detailed consideration of the development of the agoras of Greece under the Principate to so far have appeared in print—accepts many of the key premises that informed the work of Wycherley and Martin. Like them he traces a neat trajectory from the loosely organised type of agora common in the early Classical period, through agoras that were treated as a "single architectural unit" in late Classical and Hellenistic times, to the more monumentalised type of agora seen under the Empire.[100] There is no room in this narrative for agoras at sites in Sicily and Magna Graecia, such as Megara Hyblaea and Metapontum that upset this chronology by being neatly lined by stoas as early as the Archaic period and long before this became common further east.[101] He also subscribes to the idea that it is useful to label agoras according to their degree of organisation, using the term "Ionian Agora" to describe the fully enclosed type of square even though the examples he refers to in this connection—Pella and Tegea—are to be found well outside Ionia.[102] His use of the concept of "spatial logic", derived from the work of Hillier and Hanson, to explore the agoras of Roman Greece is certainly more explicitly theoretical than Martin's or Wycherley's approach.[103] However, his argument that it is possible to distinguish distinct Greek and Roman "spatial logics" in the way that squares were laid out is not far removed from the types of oppositions that they used to explain the transformation of the agora in post-Classical times. He also succumbs to a certain glorification of the more open type of agora plan that was common in Classical times, which he describes as "magnificent in its simplicity", a connoisseurship of agora design again that Martin and Wycherley would certainly have recognised.[104]

Although our knowledge of the ancient agora has expanded greatly over the half-century since the publication of Martin's ground breaking monograph our understanding of the agora has not fundamentally altered in that time. This book aims not only to bring together the current state of knowledge about the agoras of Greece to trace their development from Hellenistic into Roman

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sound remarkably similar to 'museumification'; she also accepts (p. 75) that the Athenian agora in Roman times did become like a museum.

100 Evangelidis 2014 *passim* and esp. 337.

101 For a recent overview of scholarship on the agoras of Sicily and Italy in Archaic and Classical times see Mertens 2006; for the agoras of Sicily in our period see Wilson 2012.

102 Evangelidis 2014, 337.

103 Hillier and Hanson 1984. Evangelidis does not actually go so far as to try to use Hillier and Hanson's theories of "space syntax" to analyze the spatial arrangement of Greek agoras. On which see here, C.2.

104 Evangelidis 2014, 337.

Imperial times, but also to challenge the way that ancient public space has been approached in order to pave the way for a new understanding of the post-Classical agora. To make the case that a new way of looking at the agora is needed it is worth thinking in a little more detail about two key assumptions that underlie modern agora scholarship.

3 Modern Assumptions and Prejudices

Two assumptions that are central to modern views of the post-Classical agora are: (i) that changes in the post-Classical period must reflect some kind of decline, and (ii) that those changes can usually be interpreted as the result of external influence. The consensus regarding what happened to the Athenian agora in Hellenistic and Roman times has provided the template for how post-Classical agoras in general have been thought of. The excavations at Athens have revealed that in Hellenistic and Roman times the appearance of the agora became increasingly grand with the addition of new buildings and monuments. Because this development occurred after the star of Classical Athenian culture had faded, and at a time when the radical democracy was in the past, this increasing monumentalisation of the agora has been seen as symptomatic of Athens' cultural and political decline. Because much of this new building work was financed by Hellenistic kings or Roman emperors, these outside powers have been seen as the driving force behind these transformations, stamping their authority on the city and reshaping its public spaces to advertise their power and mould its society to their will. Scholars have therefore pointed to the increasing monumentalisation of the agora as evidence for the city's declining fortunes. But is the transformation of the agora really being used here as evidence for historical change? Or are the transformations revealed by the excavations simply being made to fit what we already know, or think we know, about Athenian history? Can increasing monumentality really be read as evidence for decline? And is the top-down imposition of architectural change really the best model to account for these transformations?

The assumption that increased monumentality must be evidence for civic decline is deeply flawed, as can be illustrated by a short thought experiment. Imagine that we are 19th century architectural historians thinking about what the Athenian agora might have looked like in the fifth century BC. We know the names of lots of buildings that stood on the agora from the literary sources, but the agora itself has not yet been discovered, let alone excavated. Our knowledge of what an ancient Greek city looked like is fairly minimal because few other

FIGURE 1 *Artistic reconstruction of the Athenian agora by J. Bühlmann (c. 1880)*

polis sites have been discovered or excavated. We are, however, well aware of the splendour of the buildings of ancient Rome and familiar with the surviving ruins of the Parthenon and the Temple of Olympian Zeus. We know that in the fifth century Athens was at the height of her political power and experiencing a golden age of unparalleled cultural output. Might we not then suppose that the agora at that time had been a fairly grand complex adorned with beautiful architecture to rival that on the Akropolis?

In fact there is no need for this mind game. The 19th century architect, J. Bühlmann seems to have envisaged the agora in very much this way, as attested by his artistic reconstruction of the ancient square (see Figure 1). There can be no mistaking that Bühlmann's sketch was intended to represent the agora. The giants and Tritons belonging to the second phase of the Odeion of Agrippa were still standing in the 19th century and are shown prominently incorporated into a building on the right of the picture.[105] The Tholos, known at that time only from literary sources is imaginatively recreated at the rear of the square in the centre as a grand building surrounded by columns. The degree of monumentality, the well-ordered planning and the number of statues

105 On which see here 4.6.

comes closer to what the excavations have shown the agora to have looked like in Roman times. And yet it is far more likely that it was the period of Athens' Golden Age in the Classical period that the artist was trying to recreate.

If the excavations had revealed that the Classical agora looked anything like this illustration it is almost certain that scholars would have concluded that this splendour was perfectly in tune with the ideals of Classical Greek culture; had the Roman levels yielded evidence for dilapidation and decay then this would have been presented as just what we could have expected from this period of decline. However, the excavations have actually shown that the fifth century Athenian agora was a rather plain affair; the famous buildings were all rather unassuming, modest structures (Figure 2). It was in the Roman period that the agora most resembled Bühlmann's fantasy and architectural grandeur, enclosure and increasing monumentalization are consequently presented as though self-evident symptoms of decline.[106]

Although agoras such as those depicted in this illustration did not exist until Hellenistic or Roman times, modern scholars talk about the fact that the Classical Athenian agora was rather plain as if this were a deliberate rejection of architectural splendour and a symptom of the vitality of the democratic regime. The idea that urban simplicity better suited the Classical spirit is probably, in part, to be explained by a topos of ancient literature that has become something of a cliché in modern scholarship: that men not buildings made a polis.[107] It is certainly true that a highly developed sense of community was central to the Greek conceptualisation of the polis, at least by Classical times, but this does not warrant the conclusion that the physical make-up of the polis was therefore unimportant.[108] The architectural simplicity of the agora in Classical times was

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106 E.g. in the extremely influential article by Shear 1981.

107 This earliest expression of this sentiment is by Alkaios f. 112, probably the most well-known can be found in the speech by Nikias in Thucydides 7.77. For other examples see Watson 2001, 96–97. On this being a "trope" and one that has heavily influenced modern scholars see Millett 1998, 205–206. Modern scholars influenced by this vision include Owens 1991, 1–2 and Morris 1989, 3–5.

108 On the importance of "sense of community" to the early polis see Bintliff 2007, 2006a, 1999. For a sophisticated recent consideration of this issue for the Classical polis see Vlassopoulos 2007b, 71ff. Without undermining the importance of "sense of community" in defining the essential nature of the Greek polis, Hölkeskamp (2002, 321ff.) and Hall (2007, 70ff.) have recently argued that in the Archaic period the physical make-up of the polis was more important than previously supposed; Paul Millett's important article on physical encounters in the Athenian agora is also, in part, an attempt to challenge the old idea that "sense of place" was fairly unimportant for the way the Classical Athenians conceptualised their polis—Millett 1998.

FIGURE 2 *The Athenian agora c. 400 BC (reconstruction model)*
IMAGE COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, AGORA EXCAVATIONS

not a deliberate rejection of the monumentality of later periods because such monumentality was unknown to the Classical Athenians and was therefore never on the table as an option to be rejected.

For a more concrete example of the methodological problems inherent in the way that monumentality has been presented as evidence for decline it is useful to consider Tonio Hölscher's assessment of the transformation of the Athenian agora in Hellenistic times. In an important article published in 1998 Hölscher writes: "The few great building projects undertaken in the Hellenistic period, when contrasted with those of the earlier times, reveal that Athens had long since become a petrified monument of its own past".[109] He is referring here to the monumental stoas erected on the eastern and southern sides of the square in the mid 2nd century BC. Hölscher argues that beginning as early as the time of Perikles and Lykourgos and peaking in the Hellenistic period there was a move away from erecting buildings on the agora that were actually needed for the running of the city, towards monumentalisation for its own sake—and

109 Hölscher 1991, 379. A similar view is to be found in Hölscher 2007, 184 where Hölscher links the increase in the number of monuments on the agora in Hellenistic times to political activity departing the agora for other venues.

that this development was symptomatic of the declining political fortunes of the city.[110] There are serious problems with this line of reasoning.

In the first place Hölscher implies that the types of buildings erected on the agora in the Hellenistic period were somehow anathema to the spirit of the Classical democracy. However, as I have just argued, the Classical Athenians had never seen such buildings and as such they certainly could not have decided against them. The fact that the new buildings had no political purpose is hardly an argument for decline because the old political buildings of the Classical period remained standing and were still in use. As such there was not much need for new political buildings. Rather than assuming that the new stoas reflect a changing sense of priorities, a less negative assessment would be that the Athens' political amenities were well provided for so that the city was now able to erect other kinds of buildings. Furthermore, the new Metroon, erected around the same time as the new Hellenistic stoas c. 150 BC, *was* a new political building; it served as the city's archive.[111]

The influence that has been attributed to foreign powers in driving the transformation of the agora has also reinforced the prevailing vision of the Hellenistic and Roman period polis as a spent force, completely dependent on outside powers. The assumptions behind this interpretation are also questionable. Firstly, kings and emperors are often sometimes assumed to be benefactors for building projects for which there is no concrete evidence that they were.[112] For example, we know that there was an Odeion on the Athenian agora in Roman Imperial times named after Augustus' general and son-in-law Agrippa, but although it is generally assumed that means he paid for the building, we don't really know that for certain.[113] An even bigger problem is that when we do know that there was at least some connection between a building project and an outside power—as in the case of the Odeion of Agrippa—scholars tend to assume that the benefactor, or dedicatee was the driving force behind the project. Tonio Hölscher, for instance, sees the influence of royal benefactors as the most important factor in reshaping the Athenian agora in Hellenistic times;[114] Susan Walker has made a comparison (of a preliminary nature as she admits) of transformations in the layout of Greek civic centres at the turn of

110 See n. 109.

111 See here 1.6.

112 Jean Yves Marc, for example, suggests that most new agora buildings in the Hellenistic period were erected as benefactions on the part of foreign kings—Marc 1998, 11. On continuity into Roman times—ibid., 13.

113 On the Odeion of Agrippa see here 3.7 and 4.6.

114 Hölscher 2007, 178.

the first century AD in which she suggests that most major changes were driven by Rome;[115] more recently Michael Scott's interpretation of the changes to the agora of Cyrene in Imperial times similarly asserts that there was direct Roman involvement.[116] These examples could be multiplied and are mentioned not to disparage the work of individuals but merely to illustrate a common way of thinking about the way that agoras were transformed.

While foreign rulers clearly did exert an influence over the shape of public spaces in Greek cities this top-down model has two major shortcomings. In the first place it exaggerates the degree of interest that rulers are likely to have taken in matters of urban design in subject or allied cities. Is it really likely that Augustus sitting in Rome would have had the time, energy or local-knowledge to personally intervene in the placement of a temple on a public square in North Africa? A second, perhaps greater problem with the top-down model is that it gives little room for local agency in explaining the way that agoras were transformed. Even for the far-reaching Imperial period transformations of the Athenian agora—the case that has received most scholarly attention and has most often been interpreted as the masterplan of the Augustan regime—there are grounds for supposing that members of the local elite played an active role in securing the funds and overseeing the projects, as I shall argue in some detail in Chapter Three. In any major building project on an agora there was always more at stake for local people who actually used the square than there was for distant rulers. Even when foreign money was used to pay for buildings it is simplistic to explain agora transformation as the result of top-down plans being imposed on a purely passive local population.

Reading political, social or cultural meaning in the arrangement of public squares as uncovered by archaeology is far from straightforward. Attempts to do so are often highly subjective and ultimately tell us more about modern attitudes and prejudices than about ancient realities. Although it might seem as though the evidence from excavations has contributed to our understanding of the transformation of Greek society in Hellenistic and Roman times, all too often that evidence has simply been made to fit, and then to reinforce, expectations. This book is an argument for a different approach, one that requires us to constantly challenge preconceived ideas before considering what, if anything, the evidence for transformations of the agora might suggest about social, cultural and political change.

115 Walker 1997.

116 Scott credits Augustus himself with the decision as to where exactly on the agora to place inscribed edicts of his and explains various other building projects in terms of the motivation of "the Romans"—Scott 2013, 35–37.

4 The Evidence

At this point it is useful to say something about the nature of the evidence that has been used in writing this history of the development of the agora in Hellenistic and Roman times. The main bulk of the source material is archaeological but inscriptions and literary sources have also been drawn upon. Ian Morris has argued that the best way for archaeologists to write about cultural history is to treat archaeological and historical sources as "contemporary analogies": they present us with two different facets of the same past reality and must therefore be interrogated separately so that we can arrive at two reconstructions of the past that can be compared and interpreted in light of each other.[117] There is much to be said for Morris' methodology, in that spotting convergences or incongruences between the pictures produced by these disparate sources can suggest new interpretative frameworks that might otherwise not have occurred to us. This is not, however, the method that will be used here. Morris insists that texts do not "tell us what artifacts mean" but in looking at changes to the ancient agora we sometimes do have to rely on texts, either literary or epigraphic, to help us decide what buildings or monuments were used for, who they were built by and, sometimes, what people thought about them. In asking questions about the kinds of buildings that were erected in different periods at different agora sites it is also useful to be able to consider any evidence that is potentially relevant. Instead of separate analogous pictures of agora development the result is, therefore, more a composite image built up from many fragmentary pieces. All three types of evidence have their strengths and shortcomings and looking at them in conjunction also provides challenges that are worth highlighting.

5 The Archaeological Evidence

Around thirty-five agora sites have now been identified, with varying degrees of confidence, in modern day Greece. (Figures 3a, b and c are maps showing the location of most of the sites discussed in this book). This is a large number, which means that the sum total of the available archaeological evidence is considerable. As already mentioned this is one of the main reasons that I have restricted my investigation to the areas of Greece and Macedonia. This

117 Morris 2000, 6 (following the suggestion of Anders Andrén): "texts are contemporary analogies" [for archaeological evidence].

limitation is, however, also useful in that it also corresponds, approximately, to a discrete geographical area that was recognised in ancient times, at least in the Roman period: the provinces of Achaia, Epiros and Macedonia.

Knowledge and available data for sites throughout Greece varies tremendously. At the one extreme there are agoras that have been tentatively recognised in a preliminary survey of the site and have received a brief mention in the annual summary of archaeology fieldwork in Greece, *Archaeological Reports*. At the other there is the Athenian agora, which has been excavated extensively for the last eighty years and has generated a wealth of scholarship, probably in excess of the published literature on all other agora sites combined. Where a modern town has been constructed above an ancient polis archaeologists often have difficulty reconstructing the topography of the old city so that even the location of agoras for some important sites, such as Sparta or Thebes, remain a matter of speculation.[118]

Although I have visited most of the sites discussed in this book, and have always gained a deeper understanding of them from being able to inspect the visible remains, it is in the nature of a broad study like this that the discussion relies heavily on published scholarship. It is neither practical nor desirable to study each and every monument in the same level of expert detail required for the publication of individual monuments. The current state of all but the most recently exposed ruins of ancient buildings and monuments means it is nearly always impossible to see as much detail now as the archaeologists who uncovered them were able to. Monuments that were discovered long ago have often been partially buried, have become overgrown or have begun to disintegrate through exposure to the elements; blocks associated with buildings and monuments but not found *in situ* have often been removed to storage or stacked up on a different part of the site. It is also, of course, no longer possible to follow the stratigraphy of the site in the same way that is possible during excavation. All this is to say nothing of the time, effort and level of expert knowledge that has often been used to analyse the pottery and small finds material in order to date the various phases of individual monuments and which would require several lifetimes for a single individual to carry out for all of the sites looked at here.

Unsurprisingly the interpretations of many of the monuments that are discussed here have been the subject of controversy and disagreement, and it

118 For Thebes see Symeonoglou 1985, 137–139. For Sparta see Donati 2015, 184, Waywell 1999, 8–11, and with considerable more optimism regarding knowledge of the agora's location—Kourinou 2000, 99–108. Thus far excavations at Sparta have seemed to confirm Thucydides' famous words on the city's lack of monumental architecture—1.10.2. By

will often be necessary here to consider conflicting interpretations and choose between them. One of the big advantages of a comparative study like this is that it often puts such interpretative debates into a different perspective; seen from the vantage point of the transformation of agoras throughout Greece as a whole it is often possible to suggest new interpretations of the ways that individual sites developed and, even more importantly, what certain developments meant for the use and function of the agora. Because the arguments in this book have been so shaped by the available existing literature, however, it is useful to provide a brief overview of that literature here.

Even the Athenian agora remains a work in progress with knowledge of buildings and monuments and scholarly attention unevenly spread across the site. The site has still not been completely excavated—a state of affairs that was impossible to envisage in the 1940s and 1950s when the first two directors of the site, T. Leslie Shear and Homer Thompson, successively declared that the excavation was almost complete.[119] However, for the most part the recent excavations have focused on the outer limits of the ancient square, which means that the plan of the agora is now known in near enough its entirety. Architectural studies of several monuments and buildings of the site have been published, which are a useful source of information for our purposes because they typically pay considerable attention to questions of function and also contain discussions of what is known of modifications to buildings over the course of their period of use. Studies of some major buildings are currently in preparation;[120] for others studies were announced a long time ago but have never appeared.[121] There is thus more information available about certain buildings and monuments than others even for this single site. This discrepancy is, however, largely compensated for by the regular excavation

Pausanias' day, however, the city apparently had an agora "worth seeing" (Pausanias 3.11.2). If the agora is ever discovered and excavated it is therefore possible that some impressive Roman period remains might be unearthed.

119 Shear 1940, 307: "It is estimated that three more seasons will be required for the completion of the agora project"; in the 1950s Homer Thompson (Thompson 1954bb, 66) described the excavation as "drawing rapidly to a close".

120 T. Leslie Shear Jr. was preparing publications on the Royal Stoa and (together with Richard Anderson) the Stoa of Attalos but it is unclear when the publications will appear. Shawna Leigh is working on publication of the Hadrianic Nymphaeum. Another scholar is currently working on a monograph on the Middle Stoa—John Camp personal communication.

121 Thompson 1947, 202 reported that a Mr Parsons was working on publication of the Library of Pantainos.

reports on the site, and specialist articles that have appeared in the journal Hesperia, by Volume 14 of the *Athenian Agora* series which considers the site as a whole, and by John Camp's book *The Athenian Agora* and his guidebook.[122]

Outside of Athens each site presents its own problems in terms of the available data. Corinth is the site about which the most has been published after Athens. However, because the excavations there began so early—in the 19th century—many of the older reports and books contain information that is now out of date. In particular, knowledge of ancient pottery has advanced considerably with the result that the dating of many buildings and phases has needed to be reconsidered. A number of different projects are currently underway to re-evaluate various areas of the site and an up-to-date guidebook is also currently in preparation.[123] This work is possible because meticulous detail concerning the original excavations is still preserved in the notebooks there. Similarly at Philippi, the excavations of the 1920s and 30s have been returned to and reconsidered in detail by Michel Sève, who has substantially revised some of the original interpretations of the site.[124] The agora of Megalopolis, first partially excavated by the British in the late 19th century, has not only been returned to in recent years but has also been the subject of a new archaeological excavation.[125] Other sites that were excavated long ago, such as Mantineia or Sikyon, would probably also benefit from reconsideration but unfortunately the data has not been preserved.[126]

Two other sites that have been well published and which feature prominently in this study are Argos and Thasos, both excavated by French teams under the auspices of the École française d'Athènes. Reports of both projects have appeared regularly in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*. For both the general development of the agora has also been considered in published articles. However for neither site has every building been the subject of a detailed architectural study. At Argos, the Hypostyle Hall and the Nymphaeum have received monographs and at Thasos the buildings on the north and east

122 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, Camp 2010b, 1986.

123 The guidebook is being written by Benjamin Millis.

124 Sève 1996 Sève 2005, 2003, 1996b, Sève 2003 and especially Sève and Weber 2012a.

125 Original excavations: Gardner and Schultz 1892; new excavations: Lauter 2005; Lauter 2002, Lauter and Spyropoulos 1998, 1996; Spyropoulos, Lauter et al. 1995.

126 At Sikyon, the original excavations paid little attention to pottery so crucial for consideration of dating—personal communication Yannis Lolos, director of the Sikyon Survey Project.

sides of the square have been published by Roland Martin.[127] The rest of the agora was being studied for publication by Martin but that work never appeared.

In a different category are the sites of Pella and Messene. Both have been excavated fairly recently—indeed the agora of Messene is still being excavated. The results have been published in considerable detail in archaeological journals, which makes them useful sites to consider here. Nevertheless they will both no doubt be studied in further detail in the future, which will lead to more comprehensive publication and some revision of existing opinions. At the moment, certain conclusions relating to them can only be regarded as tentative and the excavators have been rather cautious, probably wisely, on the issue of dating. Finally there are sites, which have been excavated but barely published at all; for some not even a basic plan is available.[128] Here special mention must be made of Elis, which, like Megalopolis, has experienced two excavation phases, one in the early twentieth century by the Austrians, which has been published, and a more recent Greek excavation, which, as yet, has not. Such sites are of less use in a study like this, although I have considered them in as much detail as the available information allows.

A problem that is common to much agora scholarship, and indeed much Greek archaeology in general, which is worth signalling here has to do with dating. The dates given for buildings and building phases on agora sites in publications, particularly for the post-Classical periods, often tend to be frustratingly imprecise. The inadequacy of this imprecision has recently been signalled by Bowden.[129] Dates are often given simply as Hellenistic or Roman, sometimes with the additional information "early" or "late". There is also a tendency for the Roman period to date finds to the reigns of particular emperors which has the unwelcome effect that finds tend to bunch together under particularly influential emperors. There are, for example, far more buildings that have been dated to the reign of Augustus than Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius or Nero, far more to the reign of Hadrian, than any of the Antonine Emperors. We can be certain that there were indeed building booms under both Augustus and

127 Nymphaeum at Argos: Marchetti and Kolokotsas 1995; Hypostyle Hall: Bommelaer and des Courtils 1994; buildings on the agora of Thasos: Martin 1951.

128 For example Pretzler (2007 93) refers to the agora of Tegea as extensively excavated yet unpublished. More recent fieldwork at the site has determined the probable extent of the square and uncovered some of the paving of its latest (Roman?) phase. See http://www.norwinst.gr/tegea.html. Last consulted 7th July 2016.

129 Bowden 2007, 207: "Ultimately we must aim to date changes in urban topography in terms of decades rather than centuries, as only then can we hope to develop a more

Hadrian but I suspect it is likely that knowledge of that fact has created a self-fulfilling expectation whereby buildings that seem to have been constructed at around the right time have automatically been assigned to the reigns of these emperors. This, of course, produces yet more evidence for these building booms and makes it more likely that future discoveries will also be similarly dated. Dating by emperor also, potentially, has the further unwelcome effect of reinforcing the assumption—by mentioning buildings in the same breath as emperors—that emperors were typically the ones responsible for all public building activity. I have pointed to the problems of this top-down model for explaining agora transformation above. Improving the resolution at which ancient buildings are dated will require extensive detailed studies of architectural remains at a site-by-site level, and in particular of the small finds material found in construction fills. This will therefore take a considerable amount of time, effort and money. For some older excavations where, as mentioned above, this material has been discarded, it simply is not possible. There is, however, hope that a scholar returning to the subject of the post-Classical agora in the future will have access to more accurate dates and thereby be able to refine the picture given here.

The focus of this book is on how the agoras as public spaces were shaped by the buildings and, to a lesser extent, the other monuments that stood on them. The emphasis in research on individual agora sites has also been on buildings and monuments. It is, however, worth making a few brief comments about the potential of other types of archaeological material to cast light on the function of agoras and buildings. Unfortunately most small finds are discovered in layers of fill that have come to cover buildings after their abandonment, a context which is meaningless for reconstructing activity. We can also be sure that buildings were regularly swept out and that much material was removed when they were finally abandoned so that what we have, at best, are tiny snippets of information relating to use at a particular time. Exceptional in this respect are materials that were for some reason abandoned in wells or pits in the vicinity of buildings but such deposits are rare and also present problems of interpretation.

If an ancient agora had been destroyed in an instant by a natural disaster and immediately covered over, it might be possible to carry out micro-level find distribution analysis in order to approach the use of space from a near ethnographic perspective, but even then we would lack the diachronic dimension.

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rounded understanding of aims and ideologies expressed through the medium of the built environment".

Unfortunately, in any case, there is not a single agora in Greece or Macedonia that conforms to these conditions. The closest is the agora of Pella, where because of its destruction by an earthquake, a significant number of small finds were preserved *in situ*, at least within the buildings, which has enabled a more detailed reconstruction than elsewhere of the distribution of certain activities, as we shall see in Chapter One.[130]

In short, although various types of archaeological material have played a role in arriving at arguments for the use of buildings and agora spaces, and this evidence will be drawn upon where appropriate, such evidence is extremely fragmentary and rarely sufficient on its own to provide answers to questions about use of space. For arguments about the function and significance of buildings we are often forced to rely on inference from architectural design and position in relation to other buildings, analogy with better understood structures elsewhere and on other types of evidence such as literary attestations or inscriptions. Let us now consider the first of these types of evidence.

6 Literary Sources

Finding ancient literary references to the Greek agora is now far easier than ever before because of the existence of the online version of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. A search for all occurrences of the word "agora", in all declensions for authors dated to between 300 BC and 200 AD gives over 2,000 results. The vast majority of these are references to events set on particular agoras or generalisations about the types of behaviour and activity found on agoras. The potential of this evidence to cast light on the use and meaning of the agora has been ignored by modern scholars who have tended to focus only on those few passages that seem to explicitly discuss the agora. Much has been made of Aristotle's comment that the so-called "Thessalian free agora", devoted only to politics and religion, should serve as a model for the organisation of the ideal Greek polis.[131] Similar emphasis has been given to the famous dialogue in Herodotus between Cyrus and the Spartan herald and to several passages in Pausanias.[132] The attention paid to such supposedly key passages has had a distorting effect, inflating their significance to make unsubstantiated

130 On Pella see here 1.2.

131 See here pp. 53–55.

132 For Herodotus see here pp. 11–12.

generalisations about the place of the agora in Greek culture. I have already argued that modern belief in the existence of a so-called "Ionian Agora" on the basis of Pausanias' remark concerning the agora of Elis is deeply problematic.[133]

It is arguably where the agora is mentioned only in passing by an ancient author that we can catch our most unguarded—and thereby most useful—glimpses of what the agora meant to that author. Paul Millett, in an important article, has provided a model for how such evidence can cast light on the meaning of the agora in ancient society for Classical and early Hellenistic Athens.[134] Millett argued that a similar investigation for other cities is almost impossible because of a lack of written evidence. This might be true for the Classical period but for the Hellenistic and Roman periods, although the references for most individual sites are rather scant, the total amount of literary evidence relating to agoras throughout the Greek world is plentiful. This evidence provides considerable potential for an investigation of the ways in which the agora served as an arena in which relations of power were negotiated and contested but that would take us beyond the scope of this book which is, above all, concerned with the development of the design and function of the agora.[135] However, there are many useful literary sources, beyond the handful that are typically drawn upon, that cast light on our subject. The use of such evidence here will therefore be more extensive than in most previous discussions of the post-Classical agora.[136] Most of the passages used are by authors from the Hellenistic and Roman periods and have to do with agoras in Greece. It is, however, useful to cast the net wide in looking for relevant sources and Greek authors from earlier periods and from other parts of the Greek world and Latin authors will also occasionally provide useful information to help make sense of the development of agoras within our region.

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133 See here 1.

134 Millett 1998 and 2007 *passim* but especially 93–98 on the agora, though focusing on buying and selling.

135 I draw extensively on this evidence in the second part of my PhD thesis which explores the way that the agora served as an arena in which relations of power were contested and negotiated—Dickenson 2012, Chs 5–8. I am currently reworking these chapters for publication as a monograph.

136 Cf the very limited use of literary sources by Sielhorst 2015, 71–72 and the comment by Jean-Yves Marc (1998,4) that the potential for literary sources to cast new light on the development of the agora had been exhausted.

7 Inscriptions

Inscriptions that are useful for understanding the nature of the Greek agora can be divided into two categories. In the first place there are inscriptions that were erected on an ancient agora and are thus direct evidence for the types of communications that the polis wished to display there. Secondly there are inscriptions that refer to the agora in their text and may therefore provide insights into spatial practice or attitudes towards the agora. Let us call the first group "inscriptions from the agora", the second "inscriptions mentioning the agora". Both types of inscription present certain problems that mean that the epigraphic evidence is less useful for our purposes than we might hope.

The first problem is that the way the evidence has been published in modern scholarship means that it is much easier for some sites than for others to compile a catalogue of "inscriptions from the agora". At some sites, such as Athens, Corinth or Thasos, inscriptions have been published regularly on their discovery and have been subsequently collected together in thematic volumes of the official publication series. To gather all of the inscriptions found on these agoras simply requires consulting the published collections and browsing through more recent journals for inscriptions discovered after the date covered by the books. The Athenian Agora series has several volumes of inscriptions found during the excavation classified according to type—horoi, dedicatory inscriptions, decrees etc.[137] Inscriptions from Corinth and Thasos are published together for the whole site and for some inscriptions—fortunately usually the shortest and most fragmentary—the find spot is not provided; in such cases it is difficult to be sure if particular inscriptions were found on the agora. It is worth noting that all of these volumes only contain inscriptions found between certain dates, usually some years before the actual publication of the volume. For Corinth, for instance, the last complete volume of inscriptions was published in 1966 and contains all of the inscriptions found between 1926 and 1950.[138] There is, as yet, no single volume of inscriptions found after this date.

Inscriptions from some other sites have been published more sporadically in journals. The excavators of Messene and Argos deserve special mention here for the commendable practice of regularly publishing the texts of inscriptions immediately following discovery in excavation reports. As a result these texts have also appeared in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. However,

137 Bradeen 1974; Geagan 2011; Lalonde, Langdon et al. 1991; Meritt and Traill 1975; Woodhead 1997.

138 Kent 1966.

because the inscriptions from such sites have not (yet) been collected together in comprehensive volumes, gathering them together is less straightforward. Expert commentary on them is also minimal so that emendations of fragmentary texts, explication of obscure terms, dating and interpretation of context remain to be carried out. All this means that not only is the epigraphic material more accessible for some sites than others, but that the level of previous epigraphic research, on which a comparative study by non-epigraphists must by necessity rely, varies tremendously from site to site.

A much more serious problem pertaining to "inscriptions from the agora" is that we cannot always be sure that an inscription originally stood on an agora simply because it was found there. Inscribed stones, just like other carved blocks, make useful construction material and once they had outlived their usefulness, they were therefore often taken down and reused in later buildings. Cases have been established where inscriptions found on an agora had originally stood somewhere else altogether.[139] P.J. Rhodes has pointed out that for this very reason the category "decrees from the [Athenian] Agora" doesn't actually mean very much.[140] Only when inscriptions are found *in situ*, clearly belong to buildings or monuments that are found *in situ*, or specifically refer to their own place of erection in their text can we be sure that they actually stood on the agora. One solution to this problem would be to ignore all inscriptions that do not conform to one or more of these criteria. Unfortunately, however, those that meet these requirements are few and far between. This rather extreme stance would of course mean ignoring many inscriptions that did once stand on the agora. A more reasonable approach might be to accept that if an inscription was found on an agora, unless there is proof to the contrary, it probably did originate there or at least nearby. By considering multiple sites, even if mistakes are made concerning individual monuments, it should be possible to identify trends and draw meaningful conclusions about the types of inscriptions and monuments erected on agoras in different periods. In view of these caveats any conclusions that could be drawn from these texts would, of course, be viewed as tentative and must be drawn with caution. The meaning of erecting inscriptions on the agora can also only truly be explored by comparing the inscriptions

139 E.g. Classical decrees from the Athenian Akropolis have been excavated in the agora—Liddel 2003; what were once taken to be honorific monuments on the forum of Philippi have been shown to be grave monuments from a cemetery quite some distance away—Sève 2003.

140 Rhodes made the remark in reviewing Woodhead's (1997) volume of decrees found on the site—Bryn Mawr Classical Review—http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/1998/98.5.04.html—consulted 11 Sept 2015.

of the agora to inscriptions of other public spaces such as gymnasia, streets, theatres and bathhouses. This larger issue is beyond the scope of this book but is one of the concerns of my current research project.[141]

The second category of inscriptions, those which include the word "agora", might seem more promising. Like literary references such inscriptions can now easily be found online, through the searchable database of Greek inscriptions of the Packard Humanities Institute. We might hope that such texts would offer insights into the use of the agora or regulations pertaining to it. Texts like the Gymnasium Law from Beroia or the famous *astynomia* inscription from Pergamon contain a wealth of valuable information concerning management of public spaces in ancient cities.[142] Unfortunately, however, texts that provide this kind of insight into the ancient agora are both rare and considerably more restricted in the level of insight they offer. For the most part, when the agora is mentioned in an inscription it is simply to state that a particular monument was to be set up there. Again, this information would only become meaningful if we were to compare inscriptions referring to monuments being set up on the agora with those attested as being set up elsewhere. Then a pattern might emerge either with regard to certain types of monuments, with the practice within a given city or region, or changing practice over time.

Because of the problems just sketched, analysis of the epigraphic material will be less systematic than it is for the archaeological and literary evidence. Inscriptions will be drawn upon as and where they are useful, primarily for interpreting the function of individual buildings. As a result of the shortcomings of the epigraphic material an issue that will—perhaps surprisingly—not receive much attention in this book is the use of the agora as a setting for statues. It is well-known that the agora was an important venue for the display of honorific and privately dedicated portrait sculpture, beginning in the late Classical period and carrying on throughout Hellenistic and into Roman Imperial times.[143] The accumulation of such statues over time has certainly played a part in the popular perception of the agora becoming like a museum by the Roman period. Because the large majority of evidence for such statues is epigraphic, as argued above, to say anything meaningful about the changing significance of this practice would require looking at the agora in conjunction with other areas of public space.

141 http://romangreece.classics.ox.ac.uk.

142 For the gymnasium inscription from Beroia see Austin 1981, 118 = Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993. For the inscription from Pergamon see Austin 1981, ***216*** = Klaffenbach 1954.

143 On the significance of the agora as a setting for honorific statues see Ma 2013, esp. 75–79 and Dickenson Forthcoming-a.

At some sites that will be discussed here, such as Kassope, Thasos or the Messenian Asklepieion, there is fairly good *in situ* preservation of the lower parts of monument bases, but as these mostly lack the inscriptions, which would have been carved higher up, they are next to impossible to date which means that little can be said about their context. One observation that such bases do allow is that statues were generally positioned in rows along the edges of agoras which suggests an intention to preserve the open space of the square for whatever activities were taking place there. This in itself undermines the interpretation that agoras became like museums, dominated by monuments to the detriment of public activity. Although statues will not be examined in detail, through exploring the changing shape of the agora as a built environment, the central argument of this book will be that the agora remained a vitally important public space until the height of the Roman Empire. The presence of statues on the agora should therefore be borne in mind, forming both the background to the activities that took place there and to the argument being made.

8 Outline of the Book

This book traces the development of the design and function of the agoras of Greece and Macedonia throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The aim is twofold. In the first place an up-to-date overview of the transformation of the Greek agora in these periods, taking account of the wealth of archaeological data accumulated in the last half century, is long overdue. To reiterate, my decision to focus here on agora sites from the area of Greece arises partly from the need to keep the evidence within manageable bounds, partly as a reaction to previous comparative studies of Greek urbanism, which have tended to draw heavily on evidence from other parts of the Greek world, especially from Asia Minor, and partly because of the intrinsic value of looking at a (fairly) compact geographic region.

What is the book hoping to achieve? In the first place it has the modest aim of reassessing the place of Greece in the history of Greek urbanism. Several important agora sites have been discovered recently in Greece and have not yet been considered within a comparative study. Looking at these sites as part of the bigger picture makes it possible to re-evaluate the contribution of Greece and Macedonia to the general evolution of the agora. Secondly, the focus on the Hellenistic and Roman periods is intended to cast light on periods of agora transformation that have generally been considered less interesting in modern scholarship than the preceding Classical, or even Archaic period. As a synthesis

of information it is hoped that the book will be of use to a wide range of people with an interest in the history of the post-Classical polis, in the history of urban planning or, more generally, in public space.

The book also has more ambitious aims. In the first place it makes the argument that the old view that the agora declined as a public space in Hellenistic and Roman times is deeply flawed and more the result of modern prejudice than ancient evidence. In making that argument, various tenaciously held interpretations of individual sites are challenged and new suggestions made for how we might look at particular sites and monuments in new ways. New readings are suggested, for example, for the significance of the rearrangements of the Athenian agora in the 2nd Century BC and for the impact that the building of the Roman Agora must have had on the use of the old Classical square.

Finally, the book contains an interpretative argument about the way that we should use the various types of evidence at our disposal to write a history of an ancient public space. It takes issue with the idea that the social, cultural or political meaning of changes to the built environment can be easily read in reconstructed site plans, and stresses the need to always be alert for the prejudices that inform the way that we look at the ancient evidence. If challenging widely held assumptions leads to a more minimalist vision as to what can be said with certainty about the agora, it is hoped that the effect will also be a liberating one, clearing the way of tenacious misconceptions, to suggest new interpretations and to clear the path for new ways of looking at the subject in the future.

This book consists of four chapters each covering a period of approximately a century and a half. The chronological limits of these chapters are defined by major historical events as follows:

1. The early Hellenistic Period. The death of Alexander to the Battle of Kynoskephalai (323–197 BC).
2. The late Hellenistic Period. Kynoskephalai to Actium (197–31 BC).
3. The early Imperial Period. Actium to the death of Trajan (31 BC–97 AD).
4. The high Imperial Period. The death of Trajan to the Herulian incursion in Greece (97 AD–267 AD).

I must stress that I am not suggesting that transformations in the use or appearance of the agora can be neatly pigeonholed into these periods. As we will see, change did not come about in abrupt spurts but was a gradual and uneven process with much continuity in agora planning from one of these periods to the next. I am also not trying to imply that the events that define these periods were directly responsible for transforming the agora. Nonetheless this is meant to

be a historical study and the various building projects that we will be looking at cannot be divorced from the cultural/historical context in which they took place. It seemed otiose to choose neater dates of no particular significance to divide the time into neat chunks of one hundred and fifty years each. The introduction to each chapter contains a brief historical overview of the period in question before zooming in on the question of the agora. The dividing lines between these periods are not always taken too strictly. For example, although the Messenian Asklepieion might have been constructed in either the late third or early second century BC, I consider it in Chapter Two; similarly the Roman colony of Corinth was first laid out in 44 BC but I leave consideration of it for Chapter Three, as its first buildings only began to appear a few decades after the foundation. The chapters are also uneven in length, Chapter Three being substantially the longest because for the early Imperial period there is the most need to challenge the current consensus, Chapter Four the shortest because for the high Imperial period there is less evidence for change.

The book draws mainly on archaeological evidence for the simple reason that this is the only evidence for the majority of ancient agora buildings. I make use of inscriptions and literary sources in two main ways: firstly where they are important for determining the function of buildings that have been excavated, and secondly where they attest to the presence of buildings that have not been discovered archaeologically. The approach taken (with the exception of Chapter Three for reasons discussed there) is a thematic one. I have deliberately rejected the site-by-site approach taken in previous studies because I believe this creates a misleadingly neat picture of development; it obscures the way that the built environment of agoras tended to develop slowly over several generations and creates the impression that each agora was the product of a single moment in time. It also tends to increase the amount of description at the expense of comparison. The thematic approach means that information about a particular site is now scattered through various sections in all four chapters rather than being concentrated within a few pages. I am confident that this disadvantage is more than outweighed by the approach allowing a more synchronous discussion than would have been possible otherwise. Furthermore, I hope that the cross references and maps will help the reader not to lose track of the way that individual sites changed over time. An index to individual sites and buildings is also provided.

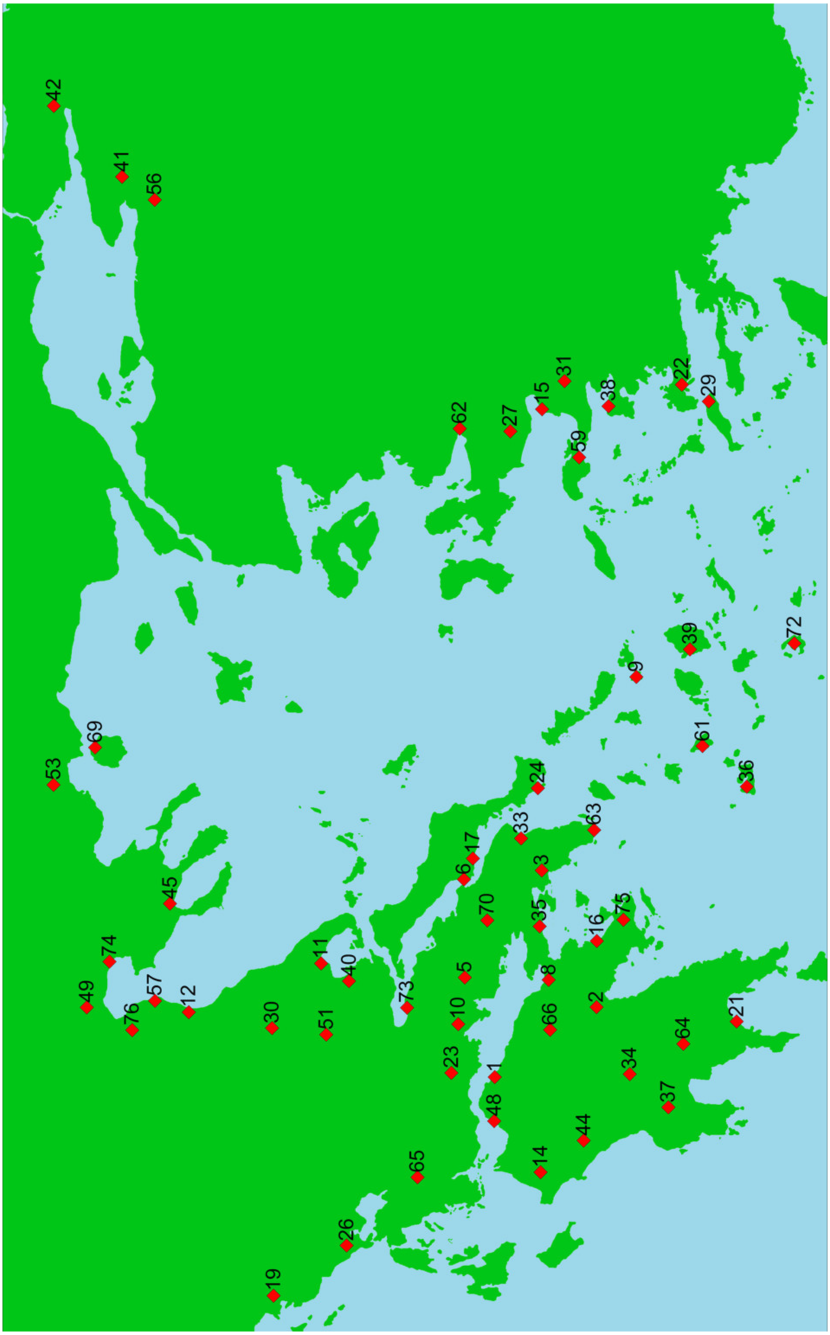

FIGURE 3A *Map showing the location of sites discussed in the book*

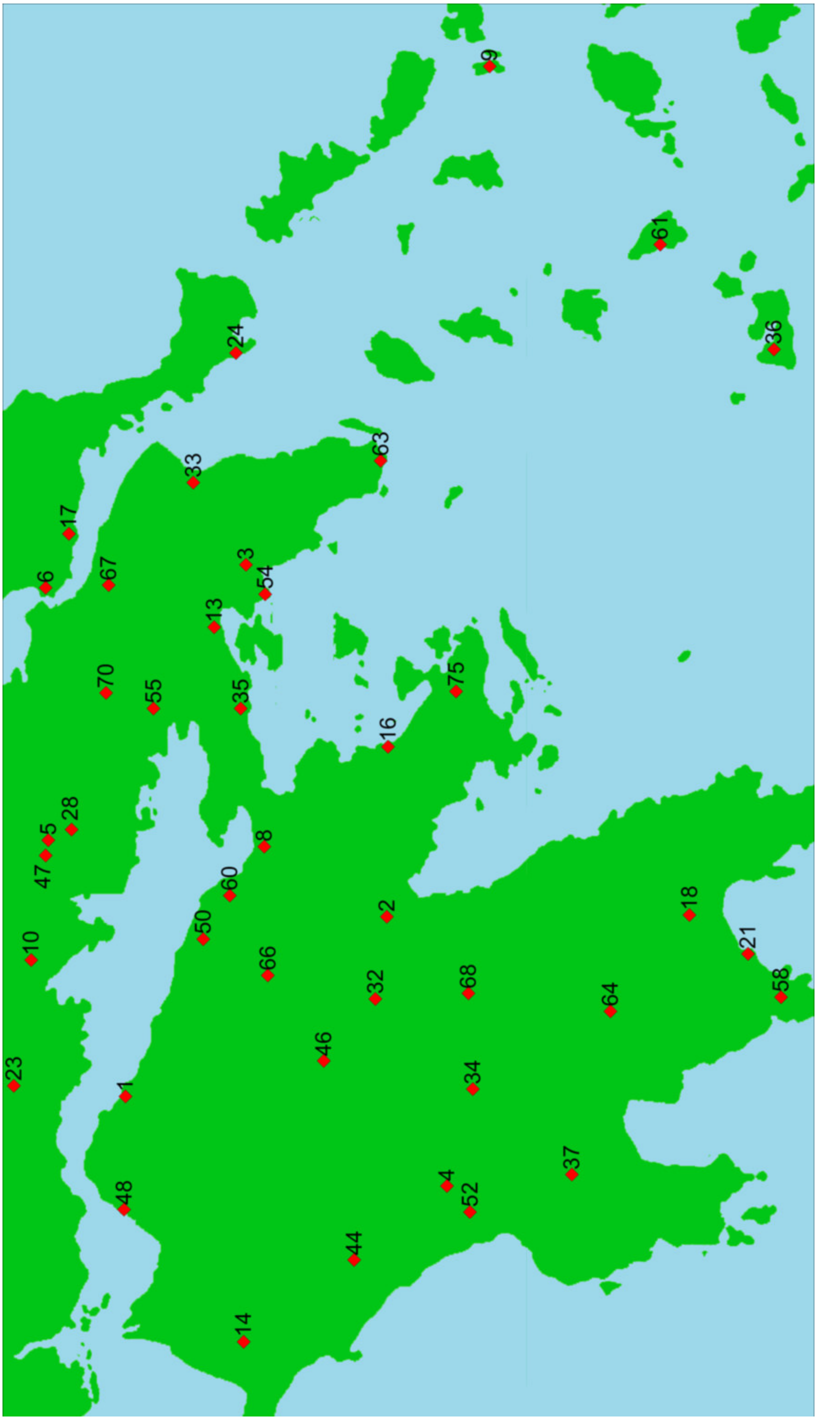

FIGURE 3B *Map showing the location of sites discussed in the book*

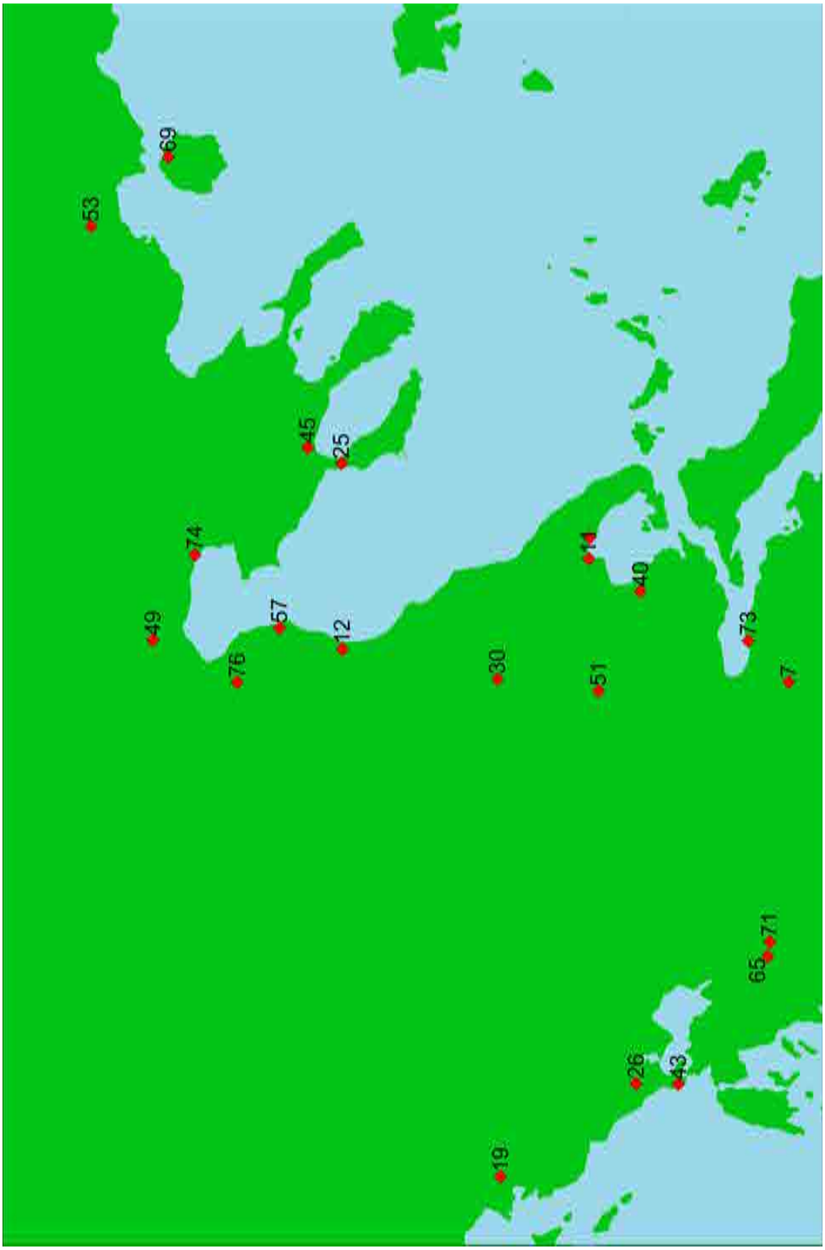

FIGURE 3C *Map showing the location of sites discussed in the book*

Key to Figures 3a–3c

1. Aegion
2. Argos
3. Athens
4. Bassai
5. Chaironeia
6. Chalkis
7. Charadra
8. Corinth
9. Delos
10. Delphi
11. Demetrias
12. Dion
13. Eleusis
14. Elis
15. Ephesos
16. Epidauros
17. Eretria
18. Geronthrai
19. Gitane
20. Goritsa
21. Gytheion
22. Halikarnassos
23. Hypata
24. Karystos
25. Kassandreia
26. Kassope
27. Kolophon
28. Koroneia
29. Kos
30. Larissa
31. Magnesia
32. Mantineia
33. Marathon
34. Megalopolis
35. Megara
36. Melos
37. Messene
38. Miletos
39. Naxos
40. New Halos
41. Nikaia
42. Nikomedia
43. Nikopolis
44. Olympia
45. Olynthos
46. Orchomenos
47. Panopeus
48. Patras
49. Pella
50. Pellene
51. Pharsalos
52. Phigalia
53. Philippi
54. Pireaus
55. Plataiai
56. Prusa
57. Pydna
58. Pyrrhicos
59. Samos
60. Sikyon
61. Siphnos
62. Smyrna
63. Sounion
64. Sparta
65. Stratos
66. Stymphalos
67. Tanagra
68. Tegea
69. Thasos
70. Thebes
71. Thelpousa
72. Thera
73. Thermopylai
74. Thessalonikē
75. Troizen
76. Vergina

CHAPTER 1

The Early Hellenistic Period. 323 BC–197 BC

1.1 Introduction to the Period

Alexander the Great died in 323 BC, ushering in several decades of confusing turmoil as his warring generals carved up his Empire for themselves. Out of the so-called Successor Wars three mighty kingdoms emerged, which dominated the Mediterranean until one by one they were defeated and absorbed by the growing power of Rome: the Antigonid kingdom in Macedonia, the Ptolemaic kingdom in Egypt and the Seleucid kingdom covering much of Asia Minor.[1] Much of Greece, south of Thessaly, was technically free in the first half of the Hellenistic period though the Antigonids did have control of strategic positions and ruled certain cities in the Peloponnese through puppet tyrants.[2] This dynasty also held Athens intermittently and occupied the Piraeus continuously for much of the third century.[3] Deprived of her most important harbour, Athens was not a major power at this time. The only polis that continued to play a significant role in Greek history as an independent power was Sparta, which struggled to dominate the Peloponnese.[4] Other poleis banded together in federal organisations to increase their political and military clout, the Achaian and Aetolian Leagues being the most important. Towards the end of the third century Rome became drawn into the affairs of the Greeks in a series of wars with Macedonia.[5] In 197 BC Philip V of Macedon was defeated by the general Titus Quinctius Flamininus at the battle of Kynoskephalai.

1 Several good overviews of the Hellenistic period now exist. Most recent is the extremely lucid narrative account by Errington 2008; Shipley 2000 takes a more thematic approach and has more attention for areas of social and cultural change; Green 1990 is comprehensive but takes a fairly pessimistic view of the cultural and political achievements of the Hellenistic period. Walbank 1981, concise and particularly clear in his coverage of the confusing successor wars, is still useful.

2 On whether these tyrants were backed up by mercenary or Macedonian forces—see Shipley 2008, 58.

3 See Habicht 1997 chapters 2–7.

4 On the fluctuating fortunes of Sparta in this period see Cartledge and Spawforth 2002 chapters 1–5.

5 Rome slipped easily into the same sort of relationship with the Greek poleis that they had had with the Hellenistic kings. See Gruen 1984 *passim*.

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The surviving historical narratives for the first half of the Hellenistic period focus on political turbulence and the upheavals, that shook the Mediterranean world. Against this background, some modern scholars have pointed to changes in areas of Greek culture such as religion and philosophy as symptomatic of a widespread feeling of insecurity.[6] Whatever the merits of this explanation for the changes in the Greeks' perception of the world and their place in it, in the area of urban design there are few signs of unease. On the contrary this period was one of important transformations in the design of cities and one which saw the acceptance of a fairly standard and recognisably Greek urban image by poleis throughout the Hellenistic world. The period witnessed a proliferation of new poleis throughout the Mediterranean as the *diadochoi* sought to emulate Alexander by founding new cities; in areas already settled by Greeks such "new" cities were often created through the compelled synoecism of several existing settlements.[7] This explosion of new cities provided the perfect opportunity for new theories of urban planning to be put into practice.

A well-known hallmark of these new cities was the rectilinear grid-plan.[8] This was not a Hellenistic invention. Ancient grid-planned cities are still sometimes referred to as "Hippodamian", after the legendary city planner Hippodamos of Miletos, once widely credited with inventing the system. He is associated in the extant literary sources with town planning at Miletos, Piraeus, Thourioi and Rhodes, all of which had a grid plan.[9] Even though the earliest and latest of these projects are too far apart to have been carried out by the same man Hippodamos' supposed association with them is enough to place him

6 E.g. Chamoux 2003, 212; on insecurity as an explanation for the emergence of the philosophic doctrines of Stoicism and Epicureanism see Jones 1964, 20.

7 Alexander had been a prolific city founder. For his foundations see Walbank 1981, 32, 34, 41–45; and above all Fraser 1996. For Hellenistic kings as city founders see: Walbank 1981, 86, 133–136, 139–140; Jones 1940, 1–26; Shipley 2000, 83–84, 288, 303–305; Cohen 2006, 1995; Billows 2003, 198.

8 See Wycherley 1962, 27 ff. and Owens 1991, 62 ff. Some scholars have been rather critical of the supposed monotony of the grid plan at certain sites—e.g. Ward-Perkins 1974, 33, contrasts "such universally admired masterpieces as Pergamon, Halikarnassos" with other "rather dull, utilitarian formulas of the Hellenistic East"; Peter Green takes a similar attitude—Green 1990, 160. Others have made much of the supposed democratic connotations of the grid plan—the division of land into equal parcels being seen as a physical expression of the principles of *isonomia*—see in particular Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994. This interpretation has been challenged by Shipley 2005, who points out that grid plans are no more common in democratic than in oligarchic cities.

9 Aristotle *Politics* 2.1268a; Strabo 14.2.9.

sometime in the fifth century.[10] Some of the colonies in Sicily and Magna Graecia had, however, been laid out on a grid centuries before that.[11] This has led to speculation as to what Hippodamos' contribution to town planning might have been.[12] The fact that he could become famous for some kind of involvement in city planning is itself an indication that increasing thought was being devoted to the issue at this time. There are other indications: Aristophanes made fun of city planners in *The Birds*;[13] in discussing their ideal polis, both Plato and Aristotle pay attention to the question of how the city itself should be laid out.[14]

For our purposes it is worth noting that both Plato and Aristophanes—the former in earnest, the latter mockingly—put the agora at the centre of their city plans. Aristotle also expressed concern for the agora (on which more below). He also explicitly referred to Hippodamos as an influence on his ideas.[15] It is therefore possible that Hippodamos too was less of a practical planner and, like the philosophers, more of a theorist, perhaps concerned with exploring the possibilities of urban zoning to shape society.[16] Employing a grid would certainly have made it easier to assign specific functions to specific areas, which might explain why the four cities he is associated with were all laid out in this way. In Greece, in the fourth century, the new cities of Messene, and probably Megalopolis, were also set out on a grid.[17] At the beginning of the Hellenistic period we hear of another professional city planner, Deinokrates of Rhodes,

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10 The problem of dating Hippodamos is discussed by Owens 1991, 57 and Wycherley 1962, 17.

11 Already accepted by Martin 1951, 346. The plans of the western colonies have been discussed more recently by Fischer-Hansen 1996.

12 E.g. Burns 1976; Vernant 1983, 223 ff.; Owens 1991, 51 and 61 (generally) and 55 (on Piraeus) and 57 (on Rhodes). See also Cahill 2002, Chapter 1 and Shipley 2005.

13 Aristophanes *Birds* 995–1009. Discussed by Wycherley 1937. Wycherley argues that the old idea that Aristophanes might have been specifically mocking Hippodamos cannot have been right because the radial plan the playwright seems to have in mind is far removed from the grid plan associated with Hippodamos. Martin (1951, 369–370) has suggested that Aristophanes was more likely mocking the sorts of ideas espoused by Plato. See also Shipley 2005.

14 Plato *Laws* 6.20.778c; Aristotle *Politics* 1330a-35–1331b14.

15 Ibid. n. 12.

16 See Burns 1976.

17 On Messene—Müth 2007 and Hoepfner 2005. The layout of Megalopolis' street system is unknown (for an overview of archaeological research at the site see Roy 2007, 289–290). The agora of the city is, however, extremely similar to that at Messene in terms of size and layout suggesting the two cities were planned together. For the agoras of these cities see here main text.

accompanying Alexander on his travels and laying out the city of Alexandria.[18] This city too was laid out according to a grid. From now on this would be the standard way of planning new Greek poleis.

The widespread adoption of the grid-plan had an important effect on the shape of the agora. The older poleis of Greece tended to have irregular street-plans, reflecting the organic way these settlements had developed over time. The agora was typically located at a convergence of important roads and because its shape was determined by these roads, it was often fairly irregular in design.[19] A rectilinear grid plan, in contrast, meant that the area set aside for the agora tended to be square or rectangular. There are some grounds for thinking that particular attention was paid to the agora in laying out these new grid-planned cities. At Piraeus, the agora actually became known as "Hippodamian".[20] Robert Garland has suggested that the agora was named after the city planner as an official public honour but this interpretation is anachronistic;[21] the modern habit of naming streets and squares after the famous and influential is unattested for ancient Greece. It is far more likely that the square simply became known as such because it was, for some reason, particularly associated with the city's planner.[22] Whether Hippodamos personally laid out the agora is uncertain but does not matter much. It is enough that the agora must have been considered one of the most important elements of his plan. At Alexandria too, at least according to the tradition preserved in the literary sources, the agora was one of the key parts of the city set aside when the grid was laid out.[23]

Some late Classical thinkers held the conviction that a polis should have two agoras: one for politics and religion, the other for commerce. Xenophon cited a Persian precedent for this and Aristotle a Thessalian one, both using the phrase "free (ἐλευθέραν) agora".[24] Some modern scholars have tended to

18 Vitruvius ii. Praef. 4, Pliny *Natural History* 62.7.125.

19 As has long been recognised. Wycherley 1962, 50 ff. and esp. 64.

20 Andokides 1.45; Xenophon *Hellenica* 2.4.11.

21 Garland 1987, 141.

22 Graham Shipley makes the sensible suggestion that laying out the city-plan naturally involved setting out the agora, which therefore led to the square being associated with Hippodamos—Shipley 2005, 356.

23 Arrian *Anabasis of Alexander* 3.1.5.

24 Xenophon Education of Cyrus 1.2.3; Aristotle *Politics* 1331a30–1331b4 = Crawford and Whitehead 1983, ***285***, esp. 1331a30–35: "πρέπει δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν τόπον τοιαύτης ἀγορᾶς εἶναι κατασκευὴν οἵαν καὶ περὶ Θετταλίαν νομίζουσιν, ἣν ἐλευθέραν καλοῦσιν, αὕτη δ'ἐστὶν ἣν δεῖ καθαρὰν εἶναι τῶν ὠνίων πάντων, καὶ μήτε βάναυσον μήτε γεωργὸν μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τοι-

take Aristotle's comment at face value and to assume that the situation he describes was indeed common in Thessaly.[25] It is therefore worth stressing that no "free agora" has yet been securely identified at any site in Thessaly and Aristotle remains our only evidence for its existence;[26] from his words it is unclear how close his prescriptions for the ideal city came to the actual situation in the cities of that region.[27] Recently it has been suggested that Aristotle's thinking about agoras might have been influenced by his experience of living in Macedonia and in particular by his time at Mieza where he is known to have taught Alexander as a teenager.[28] However, it is hard to see why, if that were the case, Aristotle chooses to associate the division of space with Thessaly rather than with Macedonia. Furthermore, although the excavations at Mieza have so far exposed only a limited part of the agora, it seems that the city had just one enormous agora, even if there was some division of function between different areas, rather than the two separate squares that Aristotle is advocating. Whatever the inspiration behind the idea, however, it is clear that what both Xenophon and Aristotle wanted was to keep the riff-raff associated with the market away from the business of running the city. As mentioned in the Introduction there are grounds for thinking that by the Classical period some cities already had multiple agoras. Beginning in the Hellenistic period this situation certainly did become increasingly common, although it is clear that Aristotle's recommendations were never fully implemented, not even in

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οὗτον παρα βάλλειν μὴ καλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων". Plato entertained similar notions and suggested removing politics from the agora and locating it in sanctuaries—*Laws* 738d, 753b; Cf. 848d and 849a where he argued for the importance of temples on the agora. The importance of these passages is stressed by Millett 1998, 218.

25 E.g. Martin 1951, 296. Martin also claims that the cities of Crete had something similar to the "free agora" and that only citizens were allowed to enter it. Unfortunately he omits to provide references. See also Wycherley 1962, 54, Ma 2013, 79 and n. 26 below.

26 A. Tziaphalias (1994, 169–170) has asserted that the "free agora" has been discovered at Larissa but this conclusion seems to be based more on wishful thinking after reading Aristotle than on hard evidence. The remains of a temple have been found which Tziaphalias suggests is that of Apollo Kerdoös. It is near the modern "post-office" square, which Tziaphalis assumes to be coterminous with the ancient free agora. Tziaphalias' suggestion is mentioned as plausible by Decourt, Nielsen et al. 2004, ***401*** (p. 696). A more convincing candidate for a Thessalian agora that was used exclusively for religion and politics and was devoid of commerce is the "Sacred Agora" at Demetrias but it postdates Aristotle by at least two generations. On Demetrias see here—1.3.

27 As pointed out by Tuplin 1994, 159.

28 Koukoubou and Psarra 2011, 233. See also Marc 2012, 235 who makes a similar argument for the agora of Pella.

Roman times. There is no reason to think that even cities with more than one agora ever completely separated politics and commerce.[29]

The early Hellenistic period also witnessed a certain standardisation in the types of buildings to be found in the polis. As far east as modern day Afghanistan, the city of Ai Khanoum (its modern name—the ancient name is unknown), with its excavated gymnasium, shared a recognisably Greek urban image with poleis from the Greek heartland.[30] In the fourth century such distinctive Greek buildings as the gymnasium/palaestra complex and the stone theatre had been invented.[31] In the early Hellenistic period both became ubiquitous features of the polis throughout the entire Greek-speaking world.[32] At this point, the architectural design of agoras also became more regular. Although rare, the earliest agoras completely surrounded by colonnades—the so-called "peristyle" type—can be dated to this period. It was much more common for individual stoas to be erected along the entire length of one, or more, sides of the open square. This tendency toward enclosure surely came about, in part, because the new rectangular agoras that resulted from the implementation of rectangular street grids leant themselves more readily to such arrangements than older more irregular squares.

Scholars once assumed that the increasing enclosure of agoras must have originated, together with the grid plan, in the coastal cities of Asia Minor, among Hippodamos and his followers. A well-known comment by Pausanias that the agoras of Ionia were more enclosed by stoas than the old-fashioned looking agora of Elis in the Peloponnese has been used to support this interpretation and to argue that the Greeks recognised a distinct kind of agora that they called the "Ionian Agora".[33] There are, however, serious flaws in this reasoning,

29 As recognised by Wycherley 1942, 224 and Coulton 1976, 174 ff.

30 The city of Ai Khanoum is often cited to illustrate the extent to which Hellenism had spread eastward—see Walbank 1981, 60–62 and Shipley 2000, 83, 305 and fig. 8.5. A mid third century inscription from the gymnasium, which is a copy of 140 moral maxims originally set up at Delphi, shows that Hellenic culture there ran deeper than the appearance of the buildings.

31 Gymnasium: Kah and Scholz 2004, Glass 1988, Delorme 1960; theatre: Frederiksen 2002.

32 Billows 2003, 199 ff.

33 Pausanias 6.24.2: "ἡ δὲ ἀγορὰ τοῖς Ἠλείοις οὐ κατὰ τὰς Ἰώνων καὶ ὅσαι πρὸς Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλλήνων, τρόπῳ δὲ πεποίηται τῷ ἀρχαιοτέρῳ στοαῖς τε ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων διεστώσαις καὶ ἀγυιαῖς δι' αὐτῶν". The "Ionian Agora" has been discussed most fully by Wycherley 1942 and Martin 1951, 372–417, both of whom argued that the label describes the "horseshoe" type of agora found at Miletos, Priene and Magnesia on the Maeander. Others who have accepted the usefulness of the term, some applying it to the horseshoe type, others to the fully-enclosed peristyle agora design include—Curtius 1848, Wymer 1916, 22, von Gerkan 1924,

as I have argued elsewhere.[34] Pausanias does not say that he believed that a new type of agora layout first appeared in Ionia. He merely suggests that the region was associated with a more enclosed, more regular type of agora design in his day. He is more likely thinking of the fully enclosed peristyle types of agora that were becoming common in Asia Minor in the second century AD rather than designs that had first appeared around half a millennium before that. There are, in short, no grounds for thinking that the "Ionian Agora" is anything more than an invention of modern scholarship. The archaeological evidence for the full or partial enclosure of agoras in Greece and Macedonia is actually just as early as that in Asia Minor as we shall see.

On the subject of the early monumentalisation of the agora it is worth mentioning briefly a statement by Herodotus, which to my knowledge has been largely overlooked by previous scholars, to the effect that the people of Siphnos constructed their agora in marble as early as the sixth century BC.[35] The site has not been discovered or excavated so we cannot be sure what he meant by this.[36] However, considering that the earliest paved agora floors are not seen until the Roman period[37] he is most likely referring to the erection of buildings around the agora. His words therefore imply a level of monumentality that has not yet been discovered on any Archaic agora anywhere. This intriguing reference therefore at least raises the possibility that the first steps toward agora enclosure might have been taken in a very different part of the Greek world, and much earlier, than previous scholars of ancient urbanism thought. It is clear that there are still large holes in our evidence for early Greek city planning.

In this chapter I shall begin by considering the way in which agoras were laid out in new Hellenistic cities because this is where the innovations of the period can be most clearly observed. First I discuss Pella (1.2) in Macedonia, a rather special case both in terms of its design and in terms of the level of preservation and excavation; I then (1.3) explore at a more general level the evidence for the planning of agoras in cities newly founded in Greece by the Hellenistic kings,

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94, Dinsmoor and Anderson 1950, 264, Sielhorst 2011b, 55, 74, 105,1 48, Rocco and Livadiotti 2011, 400, Evangelidis 2014, 337 and Frank Kolb—"Agora." *Brill's New Pauly*. Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Brill, 2005. Brill Online.

34 Dickenson Forthcoming-b.

35 Herodotus 3.57.13–14: "ἐν Σίφνῳ πρυτανήια λευκὰ γένηται λεύκοφρύς τ' ἀγορή".

36 The only topographical information on the city that could be included in the Classical Inventory of Polis, apart from what Herodotus tells us, was that it was probably on the east coast of the island—Reger 2004, *519*. The only excavations there were carried out before World War II and focused on the supposed Akropolis—Brock and Young 1949.

37 On paving see 3.16 and 4.2.

with a special consideration of Demetrias in Thessaly and Thessalonikē. The accumulation of buildings at older agoras proceeded everywhere at a different pace and in piecemeal fashion. The evidence for new agoras and new buildings on old agoras is rather plentiful for this period, which makes it useful to follow a loosely thematic approach here and to discuss different building types in turn, rather than proceeding site-by-site. For most of the chapter (1.4–1.8) I therefore take a thematic approach and look at the various types of buildings that were constructed to transform older agoras throughout this period. Some of these, especially stoas, were used to bring a greater level of order to older agoras, in line with the trends seen at new cities. When it comes to other types of buildings it is less easy to identify any broader tendencies, apart from a general increase in the amount of monumental architecture. After considering various types of buildings that were erected on the agora I then briefly consider the spatial relationship between the agora and two other areas of "public space" in the polis, the theatre and gymnasium (1.9). Discussion of the theatre leads to a short excursus (1.10) to argue the methodological point that the labels archaeologists give to ancient buildings, such as theatres, are often rather misleading in terms of how much we actually know about their function. I conclude, as I begin, with a case study, the well-preserved and well-excavated agora of Kassope in Epiros, which shows how the various elements could be coordinated in a small Hellenistic town (1.11).

1.2 Pella and the Earliest Peristyle Agora

The early Hellenistic agora of Pella in Macedonia, excavated since the 1980s, represents a real revolution in agora planning (see Figure 4).[38] The city had been laid out on an orthogonal grid when it was made the new capital of Macedonia, probably in the early fourth century BC.[39] Beyond the eastern limits of the settlement was an area that had served as a cemetery until late in that century when the city was extended and it was then incorporated into the grid.[40] Ten insulae within this new area were set aside for the city's agora, partly

38 For a full and up to date bibliography of excavation reports see Akamatis 2012, n. 3.

39 The precise date of the transfer from Aigai is unknown. Several scholars have assumed it probably took place under king Archelaos (413–399 BC)—see Roisman 2010, 156 with references. Some have argued on the basis of archaeological evidence that the move was probably later—Ginouvès 1994, 91; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 6 and 139–140; Hammond and Walbank 1988, 40, 41, 43 and 188.

40 Akamatis 1999, 23 and 31; Ginouvès 1994, 91.

above where the cemetery had been.[41] The central open space of the square covered an area of around 3.5 hectares, making it one of the largest agoras of any period in Greek history.[42] The only agora in Greece itself known to surpass it was that of Mieza, also in Macedonia, which has only recently been subject to archaeological research and is still only partially excavated but seems to have been a vast space covering some 4.5 hectares.[43] At present the excavations at Mieza have focused on a monumental complex to the west of the square thought to be an Asklepieion so that little is yet known about the layout of the agora as a whole and it is exciting to think what future excavations there might reveal. The fact that such large agoras have been found in the same part of the Greek world has implications for rethinking both the potential Macedonian contribution to agora planning and the relationship often posited to have existed between agoras and democracy. Macedon was, after all, a monarchy.

The agora of Pella, unlike at Mieza, has been thoroughly explored and the excavations have shown that the square was completely surrounded by four connected "stoas", presenting a continuous colonnade to the internal space.[44] It was in effect a peristyle building.[45] Prior to the Hellenistic period peristyles had only been seen surrounding smaller courtyards in gymnasia or religious complexes and never enclosing a whole agora.[46] Stamped tiles coming from the

41 It seems likely that the city would have had an agora before that date but to my knowledge it has not been discovered. This of course raises the problem signalled in the Introduction, that the city during Hellenistic times might have had more than one agora.

42 The dimensions of the space are given as 200.15 × 181.76 m in Akamatis 1999, 24 and, more approximately, as 202 × 181 m in Akamatis 2012, 49. These measurements give an area of c. 3.64 ha. There is some discrepancy between these measurements and the published maps of the agora. On the plan published in the Hellenic Ministry of Culture's guidebook (Siganidou and Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003, Fig. 2, p. 9) the dimensions of the agora are approximately 190 × 171 m, which gives an area of c. 3.25 ha. In the text Siganidou and Lilimpaki-Akamati provide the same dimensions for the agora as Akamatis (ibid., 17). This discrepancy is hard to explain because the scale of the map does accurately correspond to the 47 m given as the width of the insulae—Siganidou-Lilimpaki-Akamati ibid., 12. Whatever the exact measurements of the agora, however, it is clear that its extent was enormous.

43 Its dimensions are 300 × 150 m—Koukoubou and Psarra 2011, 225—English summary ibid., 238.

44 For J.J. Coulton a defining characteristic of a stoa is that it was free-standing. Peristyle courts are thus excluded from his study of the building type. However as he himself concedes (Coulton 1976, 1–2) the Greeks themselves used the word for both and I follow the ancient usage here. Akamatis 2012 includes a useful reconstruction drawing of the south stoa (Fig. 3) and a cross section of the north stoa (Fig. 4).

45 As recognized by Akamatis 2012, n. 4.

46 For the evolution of the peristyle as an architectural type see Coulton 1976, 169–

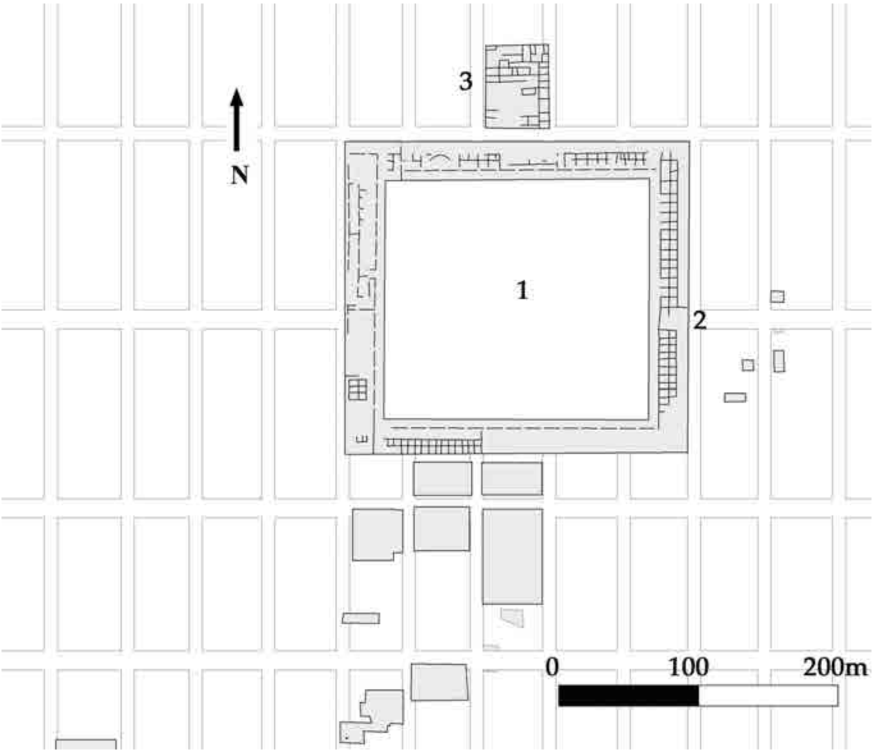

FIGURE 4 *The agora of ancient Pella (1. Main square, 2. East Entrance, 3. Sanctuary of Aphrodite and the Mother of the Gods)*

roofs of the stoas have been found on the excavations, some bearing the word "Pellēs" (of Pella), others "basilikos" (royal) or the monogram "BA".[47] The stamps might indicate that the tiles came from a royal factory, that they conformed to a royal standard size, or that the buildings were actual benefactions on the part of the king.[48] Though the site awaits definitive publication the excavators in their

170. Townsend 1995, 91 (and n. 111 on the agora of Pella) and now Emme 2013, a comprehensive study but one that does not discuss the agora of Pella.

47 Siganidou and Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003, 17. Akamatis 2012, 53 with references in n. 11.

48 There is no consensus among scholars as to the meaning of stamped roof tiles in the ancient world. Regulation of tile size was clearly important as is attested by the Roman period tile measures found on the Athenian agora—see Stevens 1950. Valavanis has suggested that the stamped roof tiles from the Hellenistic Metroon at Athens are possibly evidence that the building was a benefaction paid for by the two local men named on the stamps—Valavanis 2002, 222 ff. Hans Lauter gives a similar interpretation for a set of stamped tiles belonging to the repair of the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios on the agora of

interim reports have dated the stoas to the late fourth century BC, the period when Kassander was on the throne of Macedon.[49] This makes Pella, at present, the earliest known completely peristyle agora in the Greek world.

The sheer size of the complex, together with the fact that nothing like it had been seen before in the Greek world, must have made quite an impression, visually, upon those who came there. For all that, it was not a particularly ostentatious building. For the internal colonnade Doric columns were used in the southern part and pilasters in the north so that the appearance was not completely uniform.[50] Furthermore, the entablature of these stoas was probably wooden because not even fragments of stone members have been found.[51] The continuous stoas were effective in channelling access to the square to a small number of specific points. The main entrance, and presumably the one that would have been most used, was a monumental gateway in the centre of the east wing.[52] Directly opposite, in the western wing was a smaller entrance with "guardrooms" on either side of it, which have been interpreted as serving to check merchandise coming into the square.[53] The road that led through these two gateways was the city's main east-west thoroughfare.[54] The agora could also be accessed from the north by stairs in the northern wing and from the south by a ramp, presumed to have been intended to allow wheeled traffic into the square.[55] The agora was therefore an integral and well integrated part of the overall city plan.

The agora was destroyed by a major earthquake at the end of the first century BC.[56] This catastrophe for the people of ancient Pella has been a great gain

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Megalopolis—SEG LII 451, 452 and 453; Lauter 2002, 375–386. Cf Thompson 1950b, 95–96, 99–139 and esp. 126, however, who argues that the stamps on the tiles from the 2nd C AD repair of the Odeion in the Athenian agora carried the names of the eponymous archons in the years that the work was carried out and says that this was standard practice in antiquity.

49 The date is based on fills in the construction layers beneath the stoas—Akamatis 1999, 31. Akamatis 2012, n. 4. Cf, however Ginouvès et al 1993, 97 where the stoas are dated to the time of Philip V without reasons being given.

50 Siganidou and Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003, 17.

51 Akamatis 1999, 25 and n. 11.

52 Akamatis 1999, 24. Siganidou and Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003, 17.

53 Siganidou and Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003, 17.

54 Akamatis 1999, 24. On the road see now Akamatis 2012, 49 and n. 5 for references to recent archaeological research.

55 Akamatis 2012.

56 For the evidence relating to the destruction in the earthquake see Akamatis 1999, 31 ff. and 35.

for modern archaeology because it means that a single moment in the history of the complex has been preserved with a wide range of small finds still *in situ*. The excavations have revealed that a wide range of activities took place within the agora. Whether by law or custom these activities each had their own designated area.[57] Within the eastern, western and southern stoas there were areas for the production of pottery and separate areas for the sale of various commodities: perfumes, meats, wheat, fish, metal objects and lamps.[58] The northern wing was given over completely to administration.[59] Politics and administration were not, however, completely separated from commerce—a records house was situated in the southwest corner of the complex, identified by the discovery of document seals that had been preserved by a fire that partially destroyed the building.[60] Religion is strikingly absent from the agora although a sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite and the Mother of the Gods has been discovered just outside the square to the north occupying an entire city block.[61] In all other respects the agora was a truly multifunctional public space accommodating a similar range of functions to the Classical Athenian agora.[62] Although this was the situation at the time of the site's destruction at the end of the Hellenistic period we can be fairly confident that it had been used in this way since the beginning. In the later Hellenistic period the tendency elsewhere was towards the fragmentation and specialisation of areas of public space. This makes it unlikely that at Pella the development could have gone in the opposite

57 For a succinct summary of the different areas where different activities were found see Siganidou and Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003, 17–19.

58 Akamatis 1999, 26–27; Akamatis 2012, 53–55. The amphorai for liquids found in the southern wing attest to import of goods from as far and wide as Africa, Rhodes and Italy—Akamatis 2012, 55.

59 It was also this side of the square that became lined with honorific monuments. Akamatis 1999, 28. Akamatis 2012, 56–57.

60 Akamatis 1999, 29–30; Akamatis 2012, 55–56. For a concise English language summary of this building see Valavanis 2002, 236–237.

61 The absence of religion from the square is pointed out by Hölscher 2007, 179. On the sanctuary of Aphrodite and the Mother of the Gods see Siganidou and Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003, 27–28.

62 The character of the agora is summed up nicely by Siganidou and Lilimpaki-Akamati 2003, 19: "The agora of Pella was a commercial, economic, and also a cultural and artistic centre where people gathered to procure provisions, objects for their daily needs and for religious purposes and also to conduct their affairs not merely as citizens of Pella, but also as traders, buyers and official representatives of other Macedonian cities, as well as cities from more distant regions of the world". Cf Marc 1998, 12 who ignores the evidence for administration and oddly claims that the agora at Pella was a purely commercial space.

direction with the complex beginning as a dedicated political or commercial space and then later accommodating both functions.

The agora of Pella is an important site with the potential to cast new light on the Macedonian contribution to the history of Greek city planning and agora design.[63] Pella shows us that Macedonia was more of a centre of innovation and experimentation with urban form than scholars have previously given it credit for.[64] Although there was no attempt there to segregate different spheres of public life into separate areas, as there soon would be at other Greek cities, Hellenistic Pella boasted an imposing monumental agora on a scale that could compete with buildings that would not be seen in Greece until the height of the Roman Empire.

1.3 Agoras in New Hellenistic Cities and the Move toward Multiple Agoras

There are several reasons that we might expect new royal foundations to have incorporated the most up to date ideas in urban design. In the first place, the kings had access to the resources—manpower, wealth and expertise—needed to implement these ideas. Secondly a new city presented a blank slate where it was easier to implement new ideas than at a pre-existing settlement. Thirdly the kings were driven by a competitive spirit, which would have made them want to implement such ideas. Cities founded at this time would seem a promising place to look for archaeological evidence for Hellenistic innovations in agora planning. It is therefore regrettable that archaeological knowledge of many of these cities is rather meagre.[65] However, it is possible to draw some

63 Ioannis Akamatis has announced that a publication on the place of the agora of Pella in the history of Hellenistic architecture is in preparation—Akamatis 2012, n. 4.

64 That Macedonia has not generally been seen as making an important contribution to the history of Greek city planning is well illustrated by the fact that Blackwell's recent *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia* (Roisman and Worthington 2010) does not include a discussion of the issue.

65 The paucity of evidence for these foundations is the result of the same factors that Billows points out as having limited our knowledge of population figures for them—incomplete excavation, the presence of a modern city above an ancient one, and/or the presence of a Roman overlay making it hard to discern the state of the original city—Billows 2003, 199. The latter factor is, for example, the case at Philippi, founded slightly before the beginning of the Hellenistic period. See Sève 1996c for a summary of what we do know of the city's early layout and Sève and Weber 2012a, 11–12 for an argument that the Hellenistic agora was not beneath the later Roman forum but in an area to the east of that square.

important conclusions by looking at the accumulated evidence, particularly when the agora is considered as part of the wider city plan.

There is good evidence from outside the geographic scope of this book that setting out the agora was still a top priority for Hellenistic kings in laying out their new cities, as it had been for the earliest Greek colonists. Firstly, Arrian tells us that Alexander took a personal interest in the location of the agora at Alexandria in Egypt though of course we must account for the possibility that this tradition was a later invention.[66] We are on surer footing with the well-known Hellenistic inscription describing the provisions for the enforced transfer of the city of Kolophon to the site of its one-time port Notion in the late fourth century, probably ordered by Antigonos Monophthalmos.[67] The citizens were to begin the expansion by making sacrifices in their old agora, and allocating the agora was near the top of their priorities in laying out the new settlement area. Finally excavations at Ephesos have revealed that the earliest buildings beneath the western side of the so-called "Tetragonos Agora" date to the period of Lysimachos' (re)foundation of the city.[68]

Within Greece itself several Hellenistic royal foundations have been subject to at least some degree of archaeological research. At several of them—including Plataiai, New Halos, Goritsa, Dion, Thessalonikē, Sikyon (re-founded as Demetrias by Demetrios Poliorketes) and Demetrias in Thessaly—even though the exact topographical situation is often far from clear the agora seems to have been part of the original street plan of the settlement.[69] It is also clear

66 Arrian—*Anabasis of Alexander* 3.1.5.

67 Meritt 1935, 82 no. *1*. For an English translation and discussion of the text in relation to the topography of the site see Holland 1944, 169–171. On Antigonos Monophthalmos being the instigator of the move see Billows 1990, 295 with references to the discussion.

68 Scherrer 2001, 66–67.

69 Plataiai: re-founded by Philip II in 338 following a period of abandonment after destruction at the hands of the Thebans in 373. Recent survey work has shown how the agora (or agoras—see here main text, this section) was integrated into the grid plan—Konecny, Boyd et al. 2012. New Halos: the area of the supposed agora has been disturbed and therefore could not be investigated further—Reinders 2003, 34; see also Reinders 1988, 198. Goritsa: Bakhuizen 1992, 225 although the agora has not been completely securely identified (ibid. p. 226). Bakhuizen actually speculated that the city might have had multiple agoras, something that he suggests should be connected with Aristotle's comment regarding the "Thessalian Free Agora" (ibid., 242–274). Sikyon: Lolos 2006, Lolos 2011b, 72 and Lolos and Gourley 2011, esp. 128 ff. on the Hellenistic grid and the agora's integration into it. On Demetrios' personal involvement in planning the city see Diodorus Siculus 20.102.2–4 = Austin 1981 ***no. 41***. Dion was given its walls and possibly rearranged along the lines of a grid under Kassander—see Pandermalis 1997, 39–42. In *Archaeological Reports* 1996–1997,

that in these cities, the agora was generally located fairly centrally within the plan. An exception to this rule is the Epirote city of Antigoneia, founded by Pyrrhos in the early third century BC, where the agora was situated near the city wall.[70] Otherwise the plan of this city was fairly typical of the period and was based on a grid. The agora was presumably located at the outskirts of the city to take best advantage of the contours of the site. For most of these new Hellenistic cities the archaeological evidence is insufficient to allow much more to be said about the early planning of the agora. I shall have more to say about Sikyon presently when I consider the types of buildings found on agoras at this time. Research at both Thessalonikē and Demetrias has been extensive enough for us to be able to discuss at least some details of the early planning of their agoras.

Thessalonikē was founded by Kassander c. 316/5 BC, making it the oldest of the Hellenistic royal foundations in Greece. Our understanding of the layout of the original foundation has unfortunately to a large extent been obscured by later building activity from Roman down to modern times.[71] The new city was possibly located on the same spot as an older Greek polis but no remains have been found of this polis or its agora.[72] Although no Hellenistic buildings have been identified beneath the Roman forum there are indications that the Hellenistic agora had been located at the same location.[73] An honorific inscription dated c. 60 BC (which seems to have stood in the agora),[74] the remains of a mon-

72 it was reported that the "Hellenistic agora" had been found near the bathhouse. This is in the same area as the later Roman forum of the city, which suggests that the later square has been interpreted as having a Hellenistic predecessor at the same location (see here 3.2, 3.10 and 4.2). If the agora was indeed first laid-out in Hellenistic times it probably should be associated with the grid. Unfortunately, the results of the excavations in the agora have not been published, which means that the history of the area and the evidence on which the dating of the two phases is based are far from clear.

70 Korkutti and Petruso 1993, 727.

71 We have precise dates for the foundation of Kassandreia (Diodorus Siculus 19.52.2) and Thebes, making it likely that Thessalonikē was founded around the same time—Cohen 1995, 102 n. 1.

72 Therme was one of the cities relocated in the *synoecism* that created Thessalonikē—Strabo 7. frag. 21. The suggestion that it provided the location for the later city is found in Strabo 7. frag. 24, but an absence of any other evidence makes the claim impossible to verify. See Cohen 1995, 103 n. 3 for references to this discussion.

73 Velenis and Adam–Veleni 1997, 10.

74 The discovery is mentioned in the summaries of that year's excavations in *Archaiologikon Deltion* 9 (1924–1925), 121 and *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 49 (1924), 498. The inscription is IG X 2,1 5. The inscription bestows honours upon a foreign benefactor that

umental staircase[75] and a Hellenistic statue of Atlas[76] have all been discovered in this area, and Michael Vickers, who studied the layout of ancient Thessalonikē in the 1960s and 70s, argued this all suggests this had been the civic centre of the city in its earliest days.[77] Vickers originally thought he could distinguish two phases in the Hellenistic city plan—an original foundation located along the harbour and an expansion of the city under Philip V.[78] He later revised his opinion and concluded that the entire plan, along with the agora, dated to the foundation of the city.[79]

The city of Demetrias in Thessaly was founded by Demetrios Poliorketes sometime after 294 BC.[80] The city was laid out according to an orthogonal grid and divided into two parts—a lower city and an upper city surrounded by a wall of similar design to the outer wall of the city (Figure 5). There is some disagreement as to whether the wall here can be dated to the original foundation of the city or not.[81] Within this walled area, which the excavators call the "citadel",[82] a palace was constructed in the reign of Philip V.[83] Next to the palace was an open square surrounded on all four sides by a wall and with a temple of Artemis

include crowns, a prohedrion in the theatre and (if the restoration is correct—the left side of the inscription is missing) a statue in the most visible (epiphanestatos) part of the agora. L. 7 ff.: "στῆσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ [τὴν εἰκόνα ἐν τῶι ἐπιφα]νεστάτωι τόπωι τῆς [ἀγορᾶς". Of course another possible restoration would be "ἐπιφα]νεστάτωι τόπωι τῆς [πόλεως", in which case the inscription might have nothing to do with the agora at all.

75 For the staircase Tiverios 1997, 8.

76 Vickers 1972, 163; Tiverios 1997, 8.

77 Vickers ibid.

78 Vickers 1968.

79 The apparent discrepancy in the layout of the two areas was the result of later modifications that obscured the original layout of the harbour area—Vickers 1972.

80 Strabo (9.5–15) says that it was a *synoecism* of the towns of Nelia, Pagasai, Ormenion, Rhizous, Sepias, Olizon, Boibe and Iolkos. Either then or sometime later the towns Aiole, Halos, Spalauthra, Korope, Kasthanaia and Amphanai were also included.

81 Marzolff (1994, 1996) had dated only the city wall to Demetrias' initial foundation. Lolos (2006a) compares the plans of Demetrias and Demetrios Poliorketes' other foundation at Sikyon and concludes that the two are very similar and were probably laid out at the time of foundation.

82 Hourmouzidis 1982, 41. A gateway of the citadel can still be seen on the west side and two or three towers on the west and south sides—Hourmouzidis 1982, 42. The guidebook published by the Greek Ministry of Culture does a good job of sketching the general topography of the site—Batziou-Efstathiou 2002.

83 On the dating and archaeology of the palace see Marzloff in Milojčič and Theocharis 1976, 5–45.

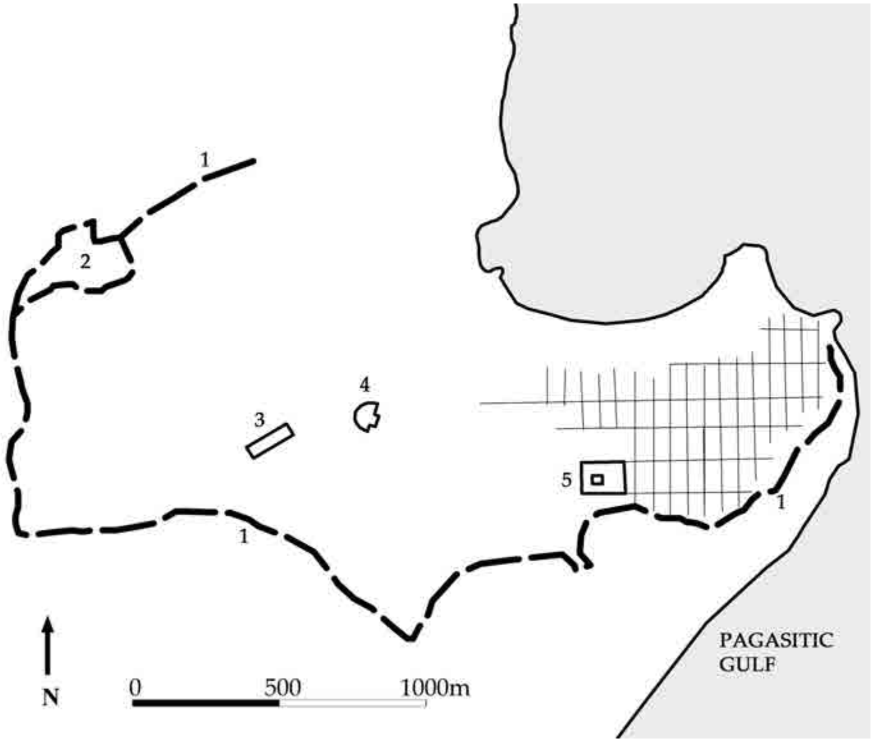

FIGURE 5 *Schematic city plan of Demetrias showing the location of the Sacred Agora (1. City wall, 2. Akropolis, 3. Heroön, 4. Theatre, 6. Sacred Agora)*

at its western end.[84] This complex is referred to in inscriptions as the "Sacred Agora". The term is, to my knowledge, unattested in the literary sources and has but a single parallel in the epigraphic record, in an inscription from Halikarnassos.[85] The prominence of the temple and the appellation "sacred" suggest that this space was not used as a commercial market. Little is known about what it was used for but it is attested in inscriptions as a place where monuments for benefactors and inscribed foreign communications were set up.[86] This sug-

84 Of the northern wall only the side facing the agora is preserved whereas the full wall is preserved on the south; it has a thickness of 1.35–1.43 m. Bricks have been found near the north wall so it was presumably built of bricks. The west wall of the agora was 1.65 m thick and made of large blocks of stone resembling those used in the palace and city walls—Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 29.

85 For references to Demetrias' "Sacred Agora": see n. 86 below. At Halikarnassos Syll 3,45,4 = Meiggs and Lewis 1969, *32*.

86 IG V. 2, 367, IG IX. 2 1105, I, IG IX, 2 111 and SEG XII, 306 = Pouilloux and Verdélis 1950—the

gests some political function. It is just possible that the Sacred Agora should be seen as a Hellenistic realisation of the Thessalian “Free Agora” which Aristotle refers to.[87] Even though the city was a Macedonian foundation perhaps local tradition influenced its plan. It is important to note, however, that the buildings of the Sacred Agora have not been dated to the earliest planning phase of the city but to a redevelopment of the site under Antigonos Gonatas.[88]

For both Thessalonikē and Demetrias there has been some speculation that the city might have had more than one agora, in line with the trend seen elsewhere in the Greek world at this time. At Demetrias Marzolff has argued that there was probably a second agora in the harbour area in addition to the more central Sacred Agora.[89] This seems a reasonable supposition in view of the apparently non-commercial character of that square. Vickers had suggested that Thessalonikē also had two agoras.[90] His arguments were highly speculative but the subsequent discovery of a Hellenistic stoa in the very area he proposed suggests that he may well have been right.[91] Vickers also referred in rather vague terms to what seems to have been another, rather large, area of open space, dating to the Hellenistic period, to the west of the Roman period forum, where he argued the main agora to have been. He described this space as a “sacred area” without explaining why he did not think of this area as yet another agora or as an extension of the main agora.[92] As mentioned in the Introduction, the identification of agoras and the labelling of ancient public spaces is often rather subjective and has more to do with the assumptions of modern scholars than with the ancient urban experience.

If there were multiple agoras at Thessalonikē or Demetrias it is striking that they do not seem to have been located adjacent to each other. Recent excavations at Stratos, in Epiros, have revealed that a new lower agora was set up

latter inscription, two honorific decrees on one stone, possibly mentions a ‘*nomophulakeion*’ associated with the agora, though the letter nu is all that remains of the word.

87 See here 1.1.

88 See Marzolff 1994 for the various stages he identifies in the urban development of the city and esp. pp. 62–64 for the sacred agora.

89 Marzolff refers vaguely to the discovery of fragments of equestrian statues in the area as support for the theory—Marzolff 1996, 56–58 (English summary p. 71).

90 Vickers 1972, 163–164. Vickers assumed that a city of this period must have had more than one agora. His argument for locating that square depended largely on the tendentious argument that there had been a *Plateia Emporiou*, accommodating a bazaar, in the area he proposed, in the 19th century.

91 Adam-Veleni 2003, 128.

92 Vickers 1972, 164.

alongside the old Classical agora in the early Hellenistic period. The old agora continued in use and the two squares were separated by some kind of stoa.[93] We also cannot exclude the possibility that the large complex discovered through geophysical survey immediately to the east of the agora at Plataiai and identified as a Sanctuary of Dionysus might actually have been a second agora. Two boundary stones inscribed "horos hieros" have been found—though not *in situ*—within the area of the complex leading the surveyors to interpret it as a sanctuary; the theatre bordering its southern edge led them to suggest Dionysos as the god worshipped there.[94] Even if the boundary stones were used to designate this entire square as a temenos—and that is by no means certain—it is possible that the square was thought of as a kind of "sacred agora" like that at Demetrias. Theatres were, after all, often found in close proximity to agoras, sometimes bordering one edge, as we shall see. Theatres were the common setting for political assemblies in Hellenistic times so perhaps the situation at Plataiai should be seen as yet another example of an attempt to separate commercial and sacred/political activities into two distinct squares.

At Thasos a Hellenistic market building has been excavated immediately to the southwest of the agora beneath a grander structure of similar plan dating to the Imperial period.[95] The excavators have dated the original Hellenistic market to the early third century BC.[96] The main evidence for that date relates to the complex of rooms in the southwest wing of the market building.[97] The early history of the southwest edge of the agora is poorly understood so that it is not clear whether the market area was fully enclosed at this point or only lined on three sides. It certainly became separated from the main square

93 The area of the agora was first excavated and published in the early 20th century—Courby and Picard 1924. Greek excavations followed in the 1950s and 60s and have, to my knowledge, never been fully published—see *Archaeological Reports* (1959–1960), 13. For the recent excavations see *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1991) 614, (1992) 669, (1993) 678, (1995) 783, (1996) 555–556 with pls. 2–3, (1997) 509–510. The results are summarized (in Greek) by Nerantzis 1997, 67–71 (esp. p. 69).

94 Konecny, Boyd et al. 2012, 121–122.

95 A good and detailed summary of current archaeological knowledge of the building is provided by the excavators, Jean-Yves Marc and Marc Bloch in *Archaeological Reports* 2003–2004, 60–62. For a full discussion of recent knowledge of the building with up-to-date maps see Marc, Mougin et al. 2007. For a consideration of the building in a broader context see Marc 2012. On the Imperial building see here 3.6.

96 Marc, Mougin et al. 2007, 940–941.

97 Marc, Mougin et al. 2007, 942–946.

when a stoa was built along the southwest edge of the agora in the second century BC.[98] In the next chapter I argue that the area was probably a part of the main agora before that time and that it was indeed the stoa that cut this market off from the main square. Even if the division of space was not absolute in the early Hellenistic period, however, the erection of the market building attests to a desire to separate commerce from other public activities to some degree.

Closely parallel to the situation at Thasos, the peristyle building with a propylon recently partially excavated on the agora at Andros may also have been a forerunner of the 2nd century AD "*makellon*" referred to in an inscription preserved among the spolia used in a later basilica.[99] Substantial quantities of pottery and seashells were found in the building's basement.[100] At present it is unclear whether the original building should be dated to the 3rd or 2nd century BC.[101] Finally, at Kassope it is possible that a building erected next to the agora in the third century BC might have been a market building.[102]

In later periods, as we shall see, it became increasingly common for cities to have a separate commercial agora, which was usually located, as at the cities discussed here, next to the main civic agora. For the early Hellenistic period, at the majority of sites in Greece, however, only a single agora has, at present, been identified.

1.4 Stoas and the Increasing Demarcation of Space

By the late Classical period the stoa was already established as the agora building *par excellence*. This type of building, which had first appeared in religious sanctuaries, had two properties that made it ideally suited to standing on an agora.[103] In the first place the stoa's elongated form and columnar façade

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98 On which see here 2.9.

99 On the building (Building D) see Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2012, *passim* and Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2011, 318. On the inscription ibid., 29 and Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2011, 319. The inscription can be dated because it is a dedication to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa (2011, 32) herself suggests that the "*makellon*" might correspond to a rebuilding of Building D.

100 Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2012, 28.

101 Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2012, 33.

102 See here—1.11.

103 J.J. Coulton's consideration of the stoa's architectural development and use remains unsurpassed—Coulton 1976.

made it the perfect architectural device for framing the edges of open squares. Secondly the building type was highly versatile and could accommodate any number of the functions typically found on the agora—stoas are known to have served as commercial buildings, law courts, philosophy schools, magisterial offices and simply as places for promenading and social interaction. By the end of the fifth century there were at least four (possibly five[104]) stoas lining three edges of the Athenian agora: the Royal Stoa,[105] the Painted Stoa,[106] the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios,[107] and the so-called South Stoa I (see Figure 6).[108] There were also at least two stoas on the agora of Elis (see Figure 7).[109] At Argos in the fourth century BC the square's southern edge was lined by the so-called Pi-shaped Stoa, which served as the façade for a hall framed by two returning wings at its rear (see Figure 37).[110] The poorly understood but definitely fifth

104 There were five if the Stoa of the Herms, attested in the literary sources (Wycherley 1957, pages 30 and 102, Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 94 ff.), was a separate building in its own right and not just another name for the Poikile or Stoa of Zeus—see Camp 2007, 649–651 with further references to the debate.

105 Royal Stoa: Wycherley 1957, ***4–23***, Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 83–90, Camp 1986, 53 ff. and 100 ff. for late fifth century modifications to the building. For the excavation reports see Shear Jr. 1971, 243 ff. and Shear Jr. 1975, 366 ff.

106 The "Poikile", named after the paintings displayed there, was one of the most famous buildings of ancient Athens—see Wycherley 1957, ***47–98***. Possible fragments of the building's superstructure were found fairly early in the excavations—Thompson 1950a, 327 ff., Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 90–94. The west end of a building thought to be the Poikile was discovered in the early 1980s—Shear Jr. 1984, 5 ff., Camp 1986, 66–72. The excavations only came down on the eastern end recently and are still going on. The latest published reports are: Camp 2007, 649 ff. and Camp 2015, 476 ff.

107 Wycherley 1957, ***24–46***, Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 96–103, Camp 1986, 105–107.

108 Camp 1986, 122–126, Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 74–78—a footnote on p. 77 suggested that the building would one day be studied in more depth for publication.

109 Coulton 1976, 237–238; Tritsch 1932, 14. One is referred to as the "Kerkyra colonnade" by Pausanias who claims that it was built with war booty in the late fifth century BC—6.24.4–5. Curiously excavations of the South Stoa of the agora have revealed it to be a building of the 2nd century AD with no discoverable traces of a predecessor—Donati 2015, 204. It is possible, as Donati suggests, that the building was constructed on the same spot as a much older building that was completely obliterated at that time. He also assumes that Pausanias' reference to the use of the western stoa by the Hellanodikai (Olympic judges) (at 6.24.2–3) is reliable evidence for the use of the building in Classical times.

110 Piérart and Touchais 1996, 49. Tomlinson 1972, 21–22. Pariente, Piérart et al. 1998, 213. Coulton dates it to the fourth century—Coulton 1976, 47. The arrangement of the hall in its earliest stages is obscured by later Hellenistic and Roman rebuilding.

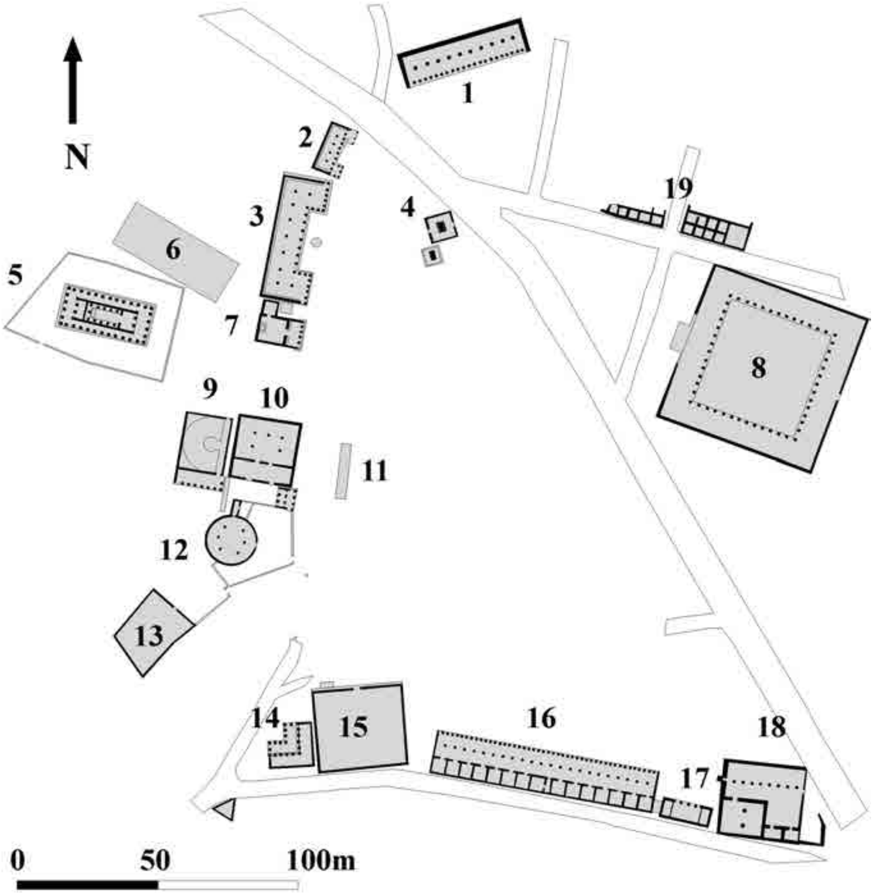

FIGURE 6 *The Athenian agora c. 300 BC (1. Painted Stoa, 2. Stoa Basileios, 3. Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, 4. Altar of the Twelve Gods, 5. Hephaisteion, 6. Arsenal?, 7. Temple of Apollo Patroos, 8. Square Peristyle Building, 9. New Bouleuterion, 10. Old Bouleuterion, 11. Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, 12. Tholos, 13. Strategies? 14. Southwest Fountainhous, 15. Aiakeion, 16. South Stoa I, 17. Southeast Fountainhouse, 18. Mint)*

century Building K on the northeast edge of the square might also have been a stoa.[111] Excavations have revealed that there was at least one stoa on the agoras

111 It is hard to see what else it could have been although the building has only been partially exposed and the excavators have not committed themselves to that interpretation. See Pariente, Piérart et al. 1998, 214; Marchetti and Rizakis 1995, 455. For the excavation reports—Pariente 1988, 705–708; Pariente 1989, 708–710; Pariente 1990, 856; Pariente 1991,

of both Eretria[112] and Mantineia (see Figure 43).[113] At Thebes,[114] Sparta,[115] and Troizen[116] there is literary evidence for the existence of at least one stoa in the Classical period. Pausanias mentions a stoa on the agora of Sikyon, which he believed had been constructed by the tyrant Kleisthenes. Sikyon was refounded by Demetrios Poliorketes on the Akropolis of the Classical city which means that if Pausanias' Stoa of Kleisthenes was a genuinely Archaic building the area around it was not the agora at the time it was constructed.[117] More likely, however, is that Pausanias mistakenly identified a Hellenistic stoa as an Archaic building.

While most of the evidence for Classical agora stoas thus clearly has to do with southern Greece a stoa-like building connected to a complex of shops or *ergasteria* has been excavated on the agora of Aiane in Upper Macedonia dated to the 5th Century BC.[118] At that time Aiane was the regional capital and, the excavations suggest, was a prosperous city until the unification of Macedonia under Philip II. The site's importance surely explains the appearance of a stoa on the agora at so early a date.

Most pre-Hellenistic agora stoas were fairly short in length. The Royal Stoa at Athens was only 18 metres long (Figure 6).[119] The so-called South Stoa I,

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675. The building has been securely dated to post 410 BC by a Corinthian coin of that date found among its foundations—Pariente 1991, 675. Marchetti has argued (1993, 211–223) that the building was the supporting edge of a monumental terrace but that doesn't seem to rule out its being a stoa.

112 Bauman, Beck et al. 2004, 242–243, Tanner 2013—an Archaic building reconstructed on a grander scale in late Classical times.

113 The building, of which only the *krepis* remains, lined the south side of the square—Winter 1987, 240–242. The building was originally interpreted as the *bouleuterion* (Fougères 1898, 174–178) but Winter refutes this. J.J. Coulton also considers it to be a stoa (1976, 51). Winter argues that a much more likely candidate for the council house is to be found on the north of the agora. See here 1.6.

114 Diodorus Siculus 12.70.5 and Plutarch *On the Sign of Sokrates. Moralia* 575. 33–34.

115 The famous "Persian Stoa", built from the spoils of the battle of Plataea (479 BC)—Pausanias 3.11.2, Vitruvius 1.1.6, Dio Chrysostom 47.17. Pausanias describes the building as heavily modified. It has been suggested that this might be the so-called "Roman Stoa" that has recently been excavated at Sparta—on which see here 4.2.

116 Pausanias mentions a stoa containing statues representing women evacuated from Athens when the city was abandoned prior to the Persian sack of 480/479 BC—Pausanias 2.31.7. If his identification of the statues was correct then the building presumably must have predated or have been contemporary with them.

117 Pausanias 2.9.6. On the refoundation of Sikyon see here 1.3.

118 Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2011, 210 ff.

119 See references in n. 105 above.

at around 80 m, was one of the longest of all known Classical stoas.[120] It also represents something of an innovation in agora planning in that it was used to define one complete edge of the square. At the very beginning of our period, probably in the last quarter of the fourth century BC (according to the most recent consideration by F.E. Winter) the agora of the hilltop site of Orchomenos in Arkadia was laid out, with two new stoas on its northern and eastern sides.[121] These were still small structures well suited to the size of the agora. Early in the Hellenistic period architects recognised that there were no real limits on the length to which the stoa-form could be extended. As a result they also recognised the potential for using stoas to line the edges of much more expansive public spaces. The rapidity with which new stoas appeared in the first few generations after Alexander's death is extraordinary. Within a few decades stoas had been erected on the edges of agoras throughout the Greek world, many of them of truly enormous dimensions.

On the north side of the agora at Megalopolis there was the so-called "Stoa of Philip", which Pausanias says the Megalopolitans had erected in honour of "Philip son of Amyntas" (Philip II) and which was identified by the presence of stamped roof tiles bearing the name Philip.[122] (See Figures 8 and 9). Although the date of the building was long disputed it now seems clear that it was indeed erected in the late 4th Century BC.[123] At 156 m long it stretched across

120 See references in n. 108 above. At the time of writing J.J. Coulton could refer to it as the longest stoa known for its time—Coulton 1976, 43.

121 The buildings were excavated and published by Blum and Plassart 1914a. F.E. Winter has since returned to the site and reassessed the remains—Winter 1987. For the northern stoa—*ibid.* 237. It had an exterior Doric and interior Ionic colonnade and no shops at the rear. Winter argues that the "eastern building" was not suitable as a *bouleuterion* (Blum and Plassart's interpretation) but was instead another small stoa, of which only the basement is preserved—ibid., 237–239.

122 Pausanias 8.30.6; Schultz 1892, 59–66. For the results of recent excavations see n. 123 below.

123 Matching the archaeological remains to Pausanias' statement raised certain problems of identification and dating because the architectural members of the superstructure clearly post-date Philip II by several centuries. The original excavators therefore suggested that the building might have been rebuilt at some point—Schultz 1892, 55 and Richards 1892, 104. They tentatively suggested that it might even be the stoa known to have been repaired by Philopoimen (Livy 38.34–37). Dinsmoor (1975, 292) and Lawrence (1973, 267) thought it more probable that the building had actually been dedicated to Philip V and that Pausanias had made a mistake. Coulton (1976, 256) sided with the original excavators, as did Tomlinson in revising Lawrence's book on Greek architecture (Lawrence 1983, 347–348). Renewed excavations in the 1990s yielded ceramic evidence that seemed to confirm

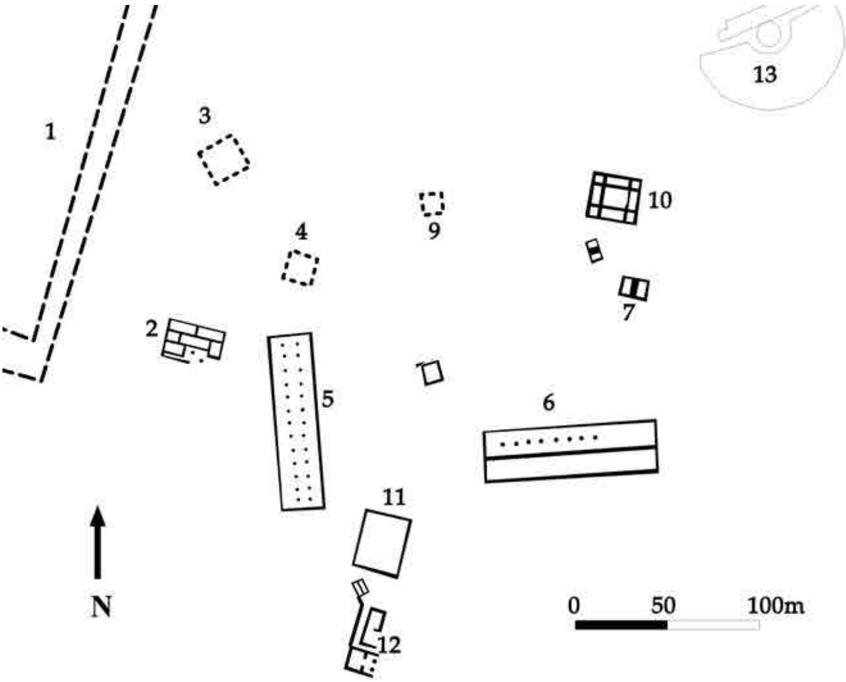

FIGURE 7 *Map of the agora and surroundings at Elis (1. Gymnasium, 2. Bath, 3. Cenotaph of Achilles?, 4. Lawcourt? 5. Stoa, 6. Stoa, 7, 8 & 9 Cult places, 10. Square building, 11. ?, 12. Temple, 13. Theatre)*

almost the complete length of the north side of the agora. At both ends the stoa had protruding wings projecting out into the agora and at its rear, two *exedras*, probably for the display of statues. Its external order was Doric while the internal columns were in the Ionic order. Later in the third century the agora of Megalopolis received a second stoa along its east side, built from the booty gained in battle against Sparta by the tyrant Aristodemos.[124] The space between the two buildings, along the north side, was filled by another short stoa, which has been interpreted as the "*Archeia*" referred to by Pausanias and which was probably erected in the late 3rd century.[125]

the fourth century date—Spyropoulos, Lauter et al. 1995, 122–125. The recent discovery of an honorific inscription to Philip II in front of the building would seem to have settled the issue conclusively—Lauter 2005, 240–241, Lauter and Spyropoulos 1998, 445.

124 The Myropolis stoa, presumably named after perfume sellers who used it. On the building see Pausanias 8.30.7; the *periegete* refers to the battle at 8.27.11; Richards 1892, 104.

125 Pausanias 8.30.6. On the Archeia see Gardner and Schultz 1892, 103–104.

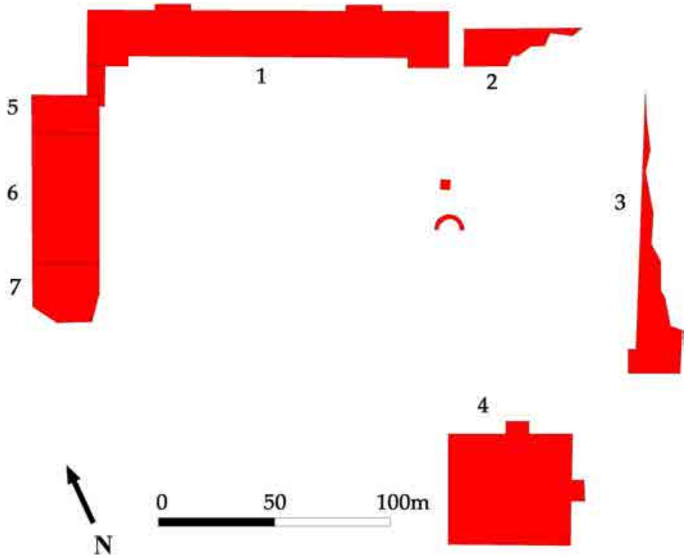

FIGURE 8 *Schematic plan of the excavated parts of the agora of Megalopolis* (*1. Stoa of Philip, 2. Archeia, 3. Stoa Myrrhopolis, 4. Sanctuary of Zeus Soter, 5. Bouleuterion, 6. Demosia Oikia, 7. Sanctuary of Zeus and Hestia*)

FIGURE 9 *The re-erected columns of the Stoa of Philip at Megalopolis*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

At Messene there was at least one stoa on the north side of the agora, very similar in ground plan to the Stoa of Philip at Megalopolis, with protruding wings and *exedras* at the rear, albeit six instead of two; at 186.87 m it was much longer (see Figures 10 and 11).[126] The building has only been fully excavated recently and awaits full publication. The similarities between the two buildings seem to suggest, however, that they are roughly contemporary. As at Megalopolis the external colonnade of the Messenian stoa was in the Doric order but the internal columns of that building were Corinthian rather than Ionic. Although the use of Corinthian columns was unusual in late Classical and Hellenistic times Themelis has pointed to the 4th century south stoa at Olympia as a parallel.[127] A late Roman stoa (3rd/4th century AD) on the southern edge of the square incorporated elements of a Hellenistic stoa, which presumably had stood nearby and may well have lined that side of the square.[128] When that earlier building was erected, however, is unclear. The names of several stoas at Messene are known from a late first century BC inscription and it is thought that several of them must have lined the agora.[129] As yet, only the two mentioned here are known to archaeology.

The so-called Northwest Stoa at Thasos was also erected at the end of the 4th/beginning of the 3rd century BC (see Figure 12). Constructed entirely of marble it was a considerable architectural achievement because the wide span was roofed without internal supports.[130] Around the same time the southeast edge of the agora was also defined by the erection of the southeast shops—which faced outwards and away from the agora.[131] This was not technically a stoa because it was not fronted by a colonnade but its rear wall defined the agora on that side and thus achieved a similar effect. The erection of these two buildings has been seen as the defining moment in fixing once and for all the

126 The so-called "Balopoulos-Stoa", named after the owner of the ground on whose land it was discovered—Themelis 2012, 37–39 and Themelis 2010, 106–110. The western end of the stoa was excavated in 1958—Orlandos 1958; the eastern end has been excavated recently—Themelis 2003c, 34; Themelis 2004a, 29–47. Themelis 2004b, 24–27; Themelis 2006, 37–38; Themelis 2007, 50.

127 Themelis 2012, 37–39.

128 Themelis 2003a, 81. Many of the reused columns in the Roman stoa are inscribed with lists of *agoranomoi* and *hypagronomoi* and priests of Zeus Ithomatas dating from the first century BC through to the second century AD.

129 See here 3.6; Themelis 2010.

130 The "portique nord-ouest" as the excavators have called it—Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 64–6. For a full analysis of the building's architecture—Martin 1959, 9–54 and plans.

131 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 70.

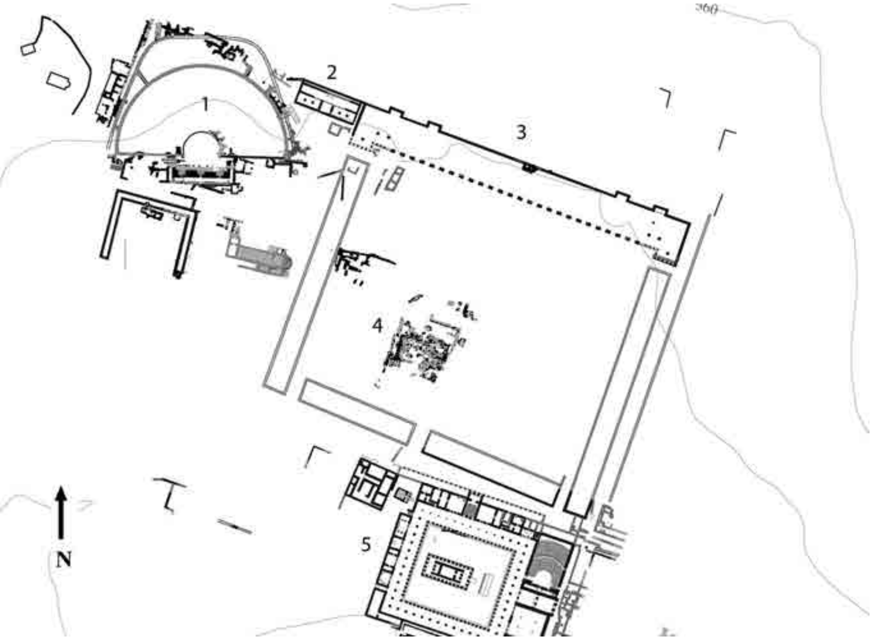

FIGURE 10 *The agora of Messene and surrounding area (1. Theatre, 2. Arsinoe Fountain, 3. North Stoa, 4. Temple of Messene, 5. Hellenistic Asklepieion Complex (discussed in the next chapter)).*
IMAGE COURTESY OF P. THEMELIS

FIGURE 11 *The North Stoa at Messene being excavated in 2009*
IMAGE COURTESY OF P. THEMELIS

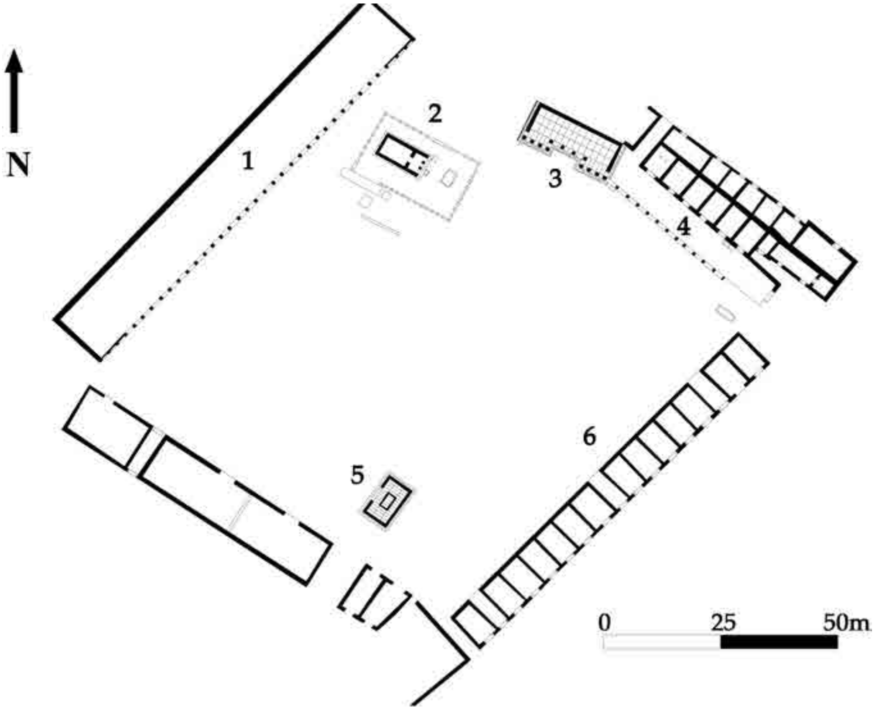

FIGURE 12 *The agora of Thasos at the beginning of the Hellenistic period (1. Northwest Stoa, 2. Sanctuary of Zeus Agoraios Thasios, 3. Parascenic Building, 4. Oblique Stoa and magisterial offices, 5. Grand Altar, 6. Southeast Shops)*

dimensions of the agora of Thasos.[132] Jean Yves Marc has argued that the stoa along the northeast side of the agora, which had originally been dated to the first century BC, was also set up in the late third century BC. It provided a splendid façade facing the agora, for the complex of magisterial offices to its rear.[133]

132 Marc 2001, 511.

133 It is sometimes referred to as the "portique nord-est", sometimes the "portique oblique". The epistyle of the building bore a fragmentary dedication to the *demos* suggesting this was a benefaction—Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, *191*. On the basis of letter type the building was originally dated to the first century BC—ibid. and Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 68. Jean Yves Marc has recently argued for the third century BC date—Marc 2001, 502–503; his reasons: (i) architectural style, (ii) the construction of the building necessitated the displacement of an earlier drain; the so-called Prow Monument (see here 2.10), generally dated to the second century BC was constructed above the drain so the building must be older. Marc also argues, contrary to previous interpretations, that the stoa and the rooms to

One of the grandest stoas to be erected in the early Hellenistic period was the so-called South Stoa at Corinth, constructed along the southern limits of the valley to the south of the so-called Temple Hill (see Figure 13). At 160 m long it was shorter than the one at Messene but it was a two-storey building and therefore an impressive and imposing structure. The building was originally dated to the time of Philip II but recent analysis of pottery deposits from beneath the structure have pushed that date forward to the early third century BC.[134] This was the period that Demetrios Poliorketes was in possession of the city and there has been some speculation that he might have been responsible for the project.[135] As mentioned in the Introduction there is some controversy as to whether this "central area" was the agora of Corinth in the period before the city was re-founded as a Roman colony.[136] It is worth noting here that the best arguments that the area was the agora all have to do with the period after the South Stoa was erected. Perhaps most importantly, a building with a probable administrative function and which post-dates the stoa—the so-called "Columned Hall"—has been found in the area.[137] The erection of the stoa

its rear were erected at the same time to form a single building. He explains the unusual ground plan of those rooms by a desire to respect existing structures. He mentions, but does not account for, one of the reasons that the rooms were previously thought to predate the stoa—the difference in masonry style between the two. His argument that this was a single building is mainly intended to support his argument about the earlier date of the stoa. However, surely it is possible that the stoa was third century and that the magisterial offices were even older.

134 The building was published in full—Broneer 1954 (the bibliography for the excavation reports can be found there). Broneer's argument about the building being associated with Philip can be found on pages 94–99. For the analysis of the pottery deposits that has led to the building being down-dated see McPhee, Pemberton et al. 2012, 17–25. Excavations carried out in the area after Broneer's publication and associated examination of the architectural remains of parts of the building itself (Williams 1980, 108 ff.) also made clear there were certain problems with Broneer's reconstruction. The pre-Roman history of the building has therefore been restudied by David Scahill in his recently completed PhD thesis—Scahill 2012.

135 Proposed by Downey-Verfenstein 2002, 210 and 224 ff. This is also the interpretation that David Scahill tentatively advances in his study of the building—Scahill 2012, 17 n. 25 and 289–290.; see also 319 ff. for a consideration of potential Macedonian influence on the building's architecture and spatial arrangement.

136 See I.1.

137 Two counting tables were found within the building as well as a cuirassed statue interpreted as being of a military general. The building has been dated by ceramic evidence to the second century BC. See de Grazia and Williams 1977, 54 ff. and Williams and Zervos

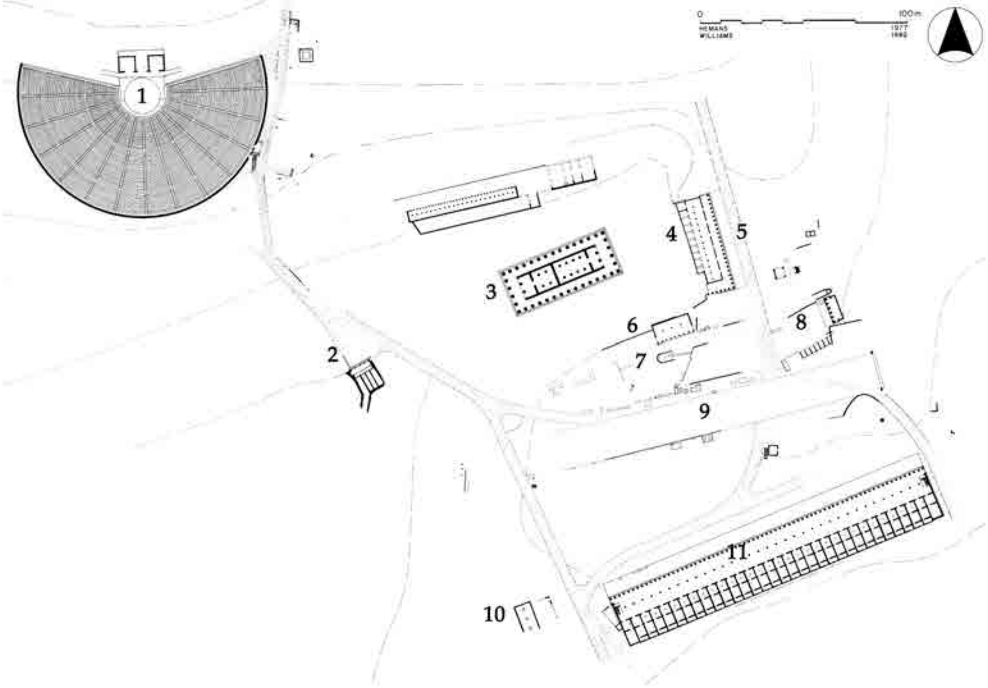

FIGURE 13 *The "Central Area" of Corinth c. 146* BC *(1. Theatre, 2. Glauke, 3. Archaic Temple, 4. North Building, 5. Lechaion Road, 6. Northwest Stoa, 7. Glauke, 8. Peirene, 9. Racetrack, 10. Columned Hall, 11. South Stoa.)*
IMAGE COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS. CORINTH EXCAVATIONS

was a massive construction project that necessitated large-scale demolition of older buildings and a major terracing operation to level a large part of the southern half of the valley. An attractive hypothesis is that it was with the erection of this building that the area was developed into the agora (or possibly *an* agora—why, after all, do we need to think that Corinth had only one?) of the city. This building remained standing in Roman times, as we shall see, and became an integral and defining feature of the forum of the new colony.

At Sikyon—re-founded, as mentioned above, by Demetrios Poliorketes as Demetrias—a stoa has been excavated on the south side of the square (see

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1991, 9 ff. See also Donati 2010a, arguing for the significance of inscriptions on the counting tables for interpreting the building's function as a civic building.

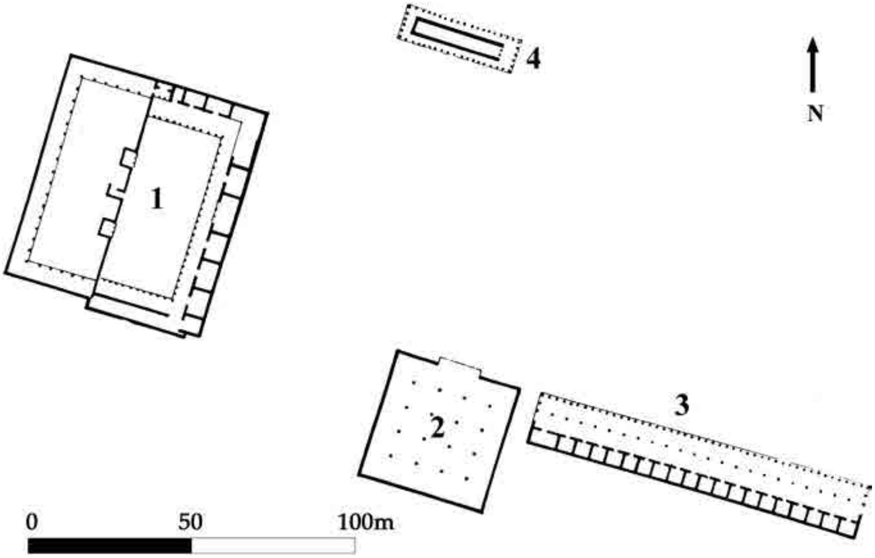

FIGURE 14 *The Agora of Sikyon* (*1. Gymnasium, 2. Bouleuterion, 3. Stoa, 4. Temple of Apollo*)

Figure 14).[138] The stoa was 106 m long, with a depth of 16.5 m and 20 rooms at its rear. It stood immediately next to the building identified as the bouleuterion with the façades of the two buildings in alignment. It has been dated by the discovery of two third century coins and, more recently, by its stylistic similarities to the South Stoa at Corinth, to some time in the late fourth or early third century BC.[139] It was quite possibly the stoa that Athenaeus tells us was a benefaction by Demetrios' mistress, Lamia.[140] It is worth noting that Pausanias in his description of Sikyon places the stoa that he believed to have

138 Orlandos 1955 (1952), 391; Lolos 2011a, 143–144; Lolos 2011b, 281. For additional considerations regarding the date of the building see n. 140 below.

139 Lolos and Gourley 2011, 124. David Scahill who has studied the South Stoa at Corinth in detail sees certain similarities between that building and the one at Sikyon—personal communication.

140 Athenaeus 13.577c. Athenaeus tells us that Lamia was a flute player and daughter of an Athenian. The building was famous enough to have been the subject of a treatise by a certain Polemon, who is Athenaeus' source on the building. Athenaeus does not say that Lamia's stoa was on the agora. Orlandos believed this was the building he had excavated—Orlandos 1955 (1952), 391. Cf Roux 1958 who challenged this and argued that Orlandos' stoa was later and probably a Pergamene benefaction. J.J. Coulton leaned towards Orlandos' interpretation but believed the remains were not sufficient to allow a definite pronouncement—Coulton 1976, 56.

been built by the Archaic tyrant Kleisthenes next to the council house, which suggests that it may have been this building that he mistook for an Archaic stoa.[141] A second stoa has been discovered immediately to the north of the gymnasium on the western side of the square (not excavated and not shown on Figure 14).[142] This stoa, partially excavated by Orlandos, has been revealed by recent geophysical prospection to have been around 41 m long.[143] There was a gap between the gymnasium and stoa allowing entrance to the square but their facades were aligned so that together the two buildings defined the edge of the agora on that side. Yannis Lolos has recently speculated, on the basis of geographical surveys that have not revealed the presence of buildings, that the agora was open on the other sides and lined by roads.[144] This interpretation is problematic because it begs the question where the open space came to an end. If the roads were not lined with buildings then the open space must have continued to some undetermined distance beyond them. In that case we should probably assume that that space too was part of the agora. On the other hand, perhaps the roads were lined by buildings of a fairly modest nature that have not left sufficient traces to show up in the geophysical investigations.

It is also worth mentioning here a rather curious feature of the Temple of Apollo, excavated in the northwest corner of the site, opposite the western stoa, just to the south of the northern road and oriented east-west. Eric Östby, who has studied the architecture of the building, has noted that the columns of the temple's peristyle in its late Hellenistic phase (mid 2nd century) are spaced unusually far apart. He argues that this was a deliberate design feature intended to give the temple a stoa-like aspect.[145] Perhaps this feature of the temple was intended to go some way to compensating for a lack of monumental architecture along the northern edge of the square and to contribute to the

141 Pausanias 2.9.6.

142 On the gymnasium see here 1.9.

143 Lolos 2011a, 145; Lolos and Gourley 2011, 127; Cf Lolos 2011b, 282 where the length is estimated at 25 m, no doubt because the book was already in press before the geophysical results were known; The original excavation report is by Orlandos 1939, 121.

144 Lolos 2011a, 145–147.

145 Professor Östby presented this idea in a paper given at a conference I attended: "Corinthia and the Northeast Peloponnesus: Topography and History from Prehistoric Times until the End of Antiquity", March 26–29 2009 at Loutraki. The paper did not appear in the publication of the conference proceedings—Kissas and Niemeier 2013. See, however, Lolos 2011a, 148–149 and Lolos and Gourley 2011, 127 with references to early work by Östby's in which he discusses the building.

effect of the space being framed by columns. It is, however, worth stressing that the temple extended along but a small fraction of the width of the square and that its peristyle colonnade also, naturally, faced north. It could, therefore, perhaps have provided viewing space for processions passing into the square along the north road. The temple does not, therefore, resolve the issue of the agora's northern extent.

The recent geophysical surveys at Plataiai in Boiotia have revealed what is surely a stoa 160 m long on the east side of the square, possibly the very building mentioned by Herakleides Kretikos as being one of the only things worth seeing in the city.[146] Traces of a probable second stoa have been found lining the southern edge of the square.[147] Herakleides, who probably made his tour of Greece in the third century BC, also tells us that at that time there were double-aisled stoas on (or enclosing?) the agora of Anthedon, on the coast of Boiotia opposite Euboea.[148] On Euboea itself he states that the agora of Chalkis was completely surrounded by stoas.[149] Stoas have also been found lining the agoras of other island poleis. At some point in the Hellenistic period the agora of Andros had stoas erected alongside two of its edges and the agora of Naxos was surrounded on three sides by stoas.[150] Herakleides' comment about Chalkis and the archaeological evidence from Naxos, in the same way as the evidence from Pella, adds weight to my argument that scholars in the past have tended to place too much emphasis on Asia Minor as the area where most innovations in agora planning took place. The fact that at these agoras the stoas were above all what caught Herakleides' attention also bears witness to the impact that these buildings had on appearance of agoras at this time.

By the early Hellenistic period Greek urban form had already made inroads into Epiros. There, one of the best-preserved Hellenistic cities of Greece has been excavated, Kassope. I shall have more to say about it presently. For now it is worth pointing out that a stoa was also constructed on the northern side

146 Konecny, Boyd et al. 2012, 118. Herakleides Kretikos drawing on Poseidippus—BNJ 369A F1, 1.11.

147 Konecny, Boyd et al. 2012, 120.

148 Herakleides Kretikos—BNJ 369A F1, 1.11 = Austin 1981, *83*.

149 Ibid.

150 Andros—Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2012 and Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa 2011; they have been tentatively dated to either the 3rd or early 2nd century BC and so might be later than the other buildings reviewed in this chapter—ibid., 33; see also—Quéré 2011, 329. Naxos—Coulton 1976, 264. See N. Kontoleon *Prakt* 1965, 176–182; 1967, 119–123; 169, 148–149 and Lambrinoudakis 1979, 249–251.

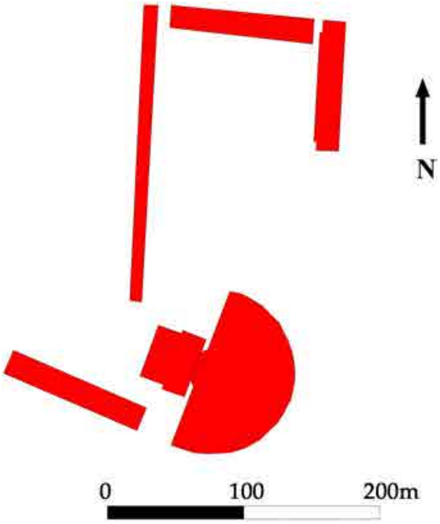

FIGURE 15 *Schematic plan of the agora of Byllis in Albania*

of its agora in the third century BC.[151] In the same part of the world, a stoa, that has not been dated more precisely than to the Hellenistic period has also been excavated on the agoras of Gitane in Thesprotia.[152] Several stoas, framing the agora of Stratos, have been excavated and been dated to the (late?) fourth century BC.[153] Much further north, on the fringes of the Hellenistic Greek world, in what is modern day Albania, a stoa was also constructed on the agora of Byllis at this time (see Figure 15). The stoa had two storeys and an unusual L-shape. The lower order was Doric. The total length of its two wings was 144 m, the northern wing 77 m.[154] Another building of apparent civic function (20.10 × 5.80 m), with a façade opening to the south and the rear supported by the dividing wall of the agora, was erected around the same time. The building had a central porch with two symmetrical rooms. The façade of the central

151 The later north stoa replaced an earlier building on the same location—*Archaeological Reports* 1984–1985, 36. See also Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 133–134; Hammond 1967, 665–666; Boman 2003, 145.

152 *Archaeological Reports* 2001–2002, 49–50.

153 Schwandner, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1991, 614, *AA* 1992, 669, 1993, 678, 1995, 783, 1996, 555–556 with pls. 2–3, 1997.

154 The building has been said to resemble stoas at Apollonia and Klos and the use of 8 fluted columns in the building is paralleled elsewhere in Epiros; its L-shape is, however, unusual—Korkutti and Petruso 1993, 722–723; Andrea 1992, 81.

room was also a colonnade.[155] At nearby Butrint, two buildings identified as stoas have been excavated recently and interpreted as framing the north and south sides of the Hellenistic agora; they have been dated to the second century BC.[156] Finally it is worth mentioning the stoa on the agora of the site of Kastro at Kallithea in Thessaly, an as yet unidentified polis but possibly ancient Pneuma; the building has recently been partially excavated and tentatively dated to the third century BC.[157]

There was great variety in the function that these stoas fulfilled. The South Stoa at Corinth might have been some kind of hostelry;[158] the Stoa Myrropolis at Megalopolis, to judge by its name, must have had a commercial function and *sekomata*, funnels for measuring grain or liquid built into a stone table, have been found *in situ* at the east end of the North Stoa at Messene, which also suggests a connection with trade.[159] For most of these new stoas we do

155 Korkutti and Petruso 1993, 723.

156 Hernandez and Çondi 2008, 278–280. The northern stoa, at 25.5 m, is rather short. A mere 6 m of the southern building has been exposed.

157 Haagsma, Karapanou et al. 2011, 200 ff. with nice computer reconstructions.

158 Most of the rooms at its rear were equipped with individual wells. Because the number of wells seems excessive for the provision of drinking water, Broneer ingeniously proposed that they might therefore have been cooling devices—Broneer 1954, 61 (with reconstruction drawing). They were also found to contain large amounts of eating and drinking ware, some inscribed with names of deities associated with drinking, as well as pieces of flutes and dice. The supposed function of the wells combined with their contents led Broneer to interpret the building as a hostel—Broneer 1954, 98–99. He suggested that the upper storey could have provided accommodation. Broneer's dating of the building to the time of Philip led him to associate it with the Hellenic League. In view of the revised dating Williams has suggested instead a connection with the Isthmian games—Williams and Fisher 1972, 169–171.

159 For a discussion of the *sekomata* including their dimensions, capacity and use see Themelis 2012, 40–44. Themelis has argued elsewhere that their presence in the stoa suggests the building was an *agoranomeion*—Themelis 2007, 50 (on p. 49 fig. 46 there is a photo of the tables). *Sekomata* are certainly known to have been dedicated by *agoranomoi* elsewhere (e.g. at Thasos—Pouilloux 1954, ***194***). A *sekoma* discovered on the agora of Megalopolis has recently been discussed by Fritzilas 2012 who includes (pp. 322–327) a useful discussion of parallels from elsewhere. Like Themelis he assumes (p. 330) that the example from Megalopolis must have stood in an agoranomeion. However, it is far from clear that each and every *polis* would have had a specialised building for the use of its market magistrates. In the case of Messene it is also difficult to see how this enormous stoa would have functioned as a magisterial office. Furthermore, traders would have had just as much incentive to measure their products as the *agoranomoi* so we cannot be certain that these particular *sekomata* were used by officials. I therefore believe it makes more sense to think

not know what they were used for. However, as mentioned previously stoas were a remarkably versatile building type and we probably do not need to think that they were always built with a particular activity in mind. Indeed the same stoa might well have served a variety of purposes. One way in which most of them doubtless were used was as galleries for people to walk in, and shelter from the elements. This surely accounts for the fact that so many of these stoas were erected on the northern edges of agoras where they could provide the best protection against the cool northern winds.[160] They also provided places from which to observe whatever was happening in the space of the agora itself. This is possibly the best explanation for the stoa-like spacing of the columns of the Temple of Apollo at Sikyon. Vitruvius recognised the importance of wide column spacing for allowing people to look out of stoas, recommending this for colonnades on Roman forums, where the open space was to be used for gladiatorial combats.[161] The temple at Sikyon was probably not designed to look much like a stoa *from* the agora but to allow people to use it like a stoa, to gather within it to look out *onto* the agora.

A desire to define the open space of the agora was probably also often an important consideration behind the erection of stoas. As I have said in the Introduction, scholars have often (and mistakenly) argued that agoras were commonly demarcated by boundary stones. Stoas were a far more effective way of delimiting the edges of an open space and setting it apart from surrounding areas. This must surely partly account for their increasing popularity in the early Hellenistic period. However, as we have seen, total enclosure was rarely aimed at; it was fairly common for agoras in this period to have stoas along one or two of their edges but not all four.

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of the stoa as a whole as a commercial building, perhaps with an area set aside for the official regulation of trade.

160 A Roman inscription from Mantineia explicitly states that the erection of a so-called "baitē" (some kind of heated hall—Winter 1987, 242; Gossage 1959) provided protection against the elements—IG V 2, 268 l. 49–50 (χιμέριον κατάστημα νικώσης). Fougères identified this building as the stoa on the north side of the agora—Fougères 1898, 179. F.E. Winter (1987, 242) has questioned whether this identification is correct, pointing out that the inscription does not specifically say that this building was on the agora. See also here 3.16.

161 Vitruvius 5.1.2.

1.5 Monumental Entrances

The other architectural structure that might have been used to give definition to the space of the agora is the monumental entrance. Gateways emphasise boundaries and serve to demarcate space as being inside or outside. For the Classical period I am only aware of evidence for gateways on two agoras and one of those is very uncertain. Fougères tentatively identified a propylon on the northwest corner of the agora of Mantineia, and dated it to the fifth century BC.[162] Roland Martin, however, argued that this structure was more likely to have been an annex of the stoa that it abutted on.[163] More certain is that in the fifth century the Hippodamian agora at Piraeus was given a monumental entrance because four boundary stones, each inscribed "Boundary of the Demosion Propylon", have been discovered there; the remains of the gateway itself have not been found.[164]

In the Hellenistic period agora entrances remain extremely rare. In 303/2 BC the Athenians set up a trophy atop a gate to commemorate a military victory, fighting with Demetrios Poliorketes the Besieger over the army of Pleistarchos, brother of Kassander.[165] The monument itself has been identified with two stone piers that have been found on either side of the road that leaves the agora to the north, along the western side of what is probably the Painted Stoa. The easternmost pier actually abuts that building. John Camp has pointed out that this was a particularly symbolic location, as a crossroads where the north–south road diverged from the Panathenaic Way, at the very point where that road entered the square.[166] It must also be significant however that the gate did not span the great processional way but rather the relatively minor road forking off from it. The main entrance to the agora for anyone entering from the direction of the Dipylon Gate remained without a gate throughout antiquity. Nothing is known of the gate's superstructure, making various reconstructions possible. The central opening however seems to have been left open, with no fittings for a door.

In 1927 Orlandos reported the excavation of an Ionic porch in front of the gateway of the agora of Stymphalos, which was said to be Hellenistic in appear-

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162 Fougères 1898, 179.

163 Martin 1951, 380. F.E. Winter recalls (1987, 241) that Martin dated the stoa and *propylon* to the agora's Classical phase but does not point out that Martin had also called the identification of the structure into question.

164 Garland 1987, 141 and 158. IG II 893 = SEG X 380; Gill 2006, 8–9; Hill 1932, 255 ff.

165 Camp 1986, 164; Pausanias 1.15.1.

166 Camp 1986, 164.

ance. Unfortunately a more precise date was not given and the general state of our archaeological knowledge of the site is rather poor.[167] Considering that there are so few comparanda for the gate (in 1927 the Athenian one had yet to be discovered) it is hard to be sure on what grounds Orlandos made his conclusions regarding the date and we cannot rule out that this gate might have been from a later period. The complete enclosure of the agora at Pella necessitated some kind of entrance and, as we have already seen, it was equipped with a monumental one on its east side.[168]

These are the only three examples of monumental agora entrances from the early Hellenistic period and it is clear that it continued to be the norm for agoras not to have them. Nonetheless in these cases the entrances must have served to emphasise the transition from being outside to inside the agora and thus have enhanced the sense of place of being in the agora. In this respect they are a development in tune with the increasing use of stoas at this time as architectural devices to define the boundaries of the open space.

1.6 Political Buildings on the Agora

The agora, throughout Hellenistic and Roman times, was the place where buildings of government and administration tended to concentrate. Some scholars believe that the agora first came into existence as a space for political gatherings and that this was therefore the original *raison d'être* of the open space itself. For the Classical period securely attested examples of political buildings standing on the edge of an agora are surprisingly few. All of the political buildings that are known from that period continued to stand throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It is therefore important to introduce them here.

The large Hypostyle Hall at Argos, erected in the fifth century, may well have been the city's bouleuterion.[169] At Thasos, a rectangular cellular build-

167 *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (*Archaeological Reports*) 1928, 191.

168 See here 1.2.

169 The building has been published fully by Bommelaer and des Courtils, 1994. The identification of the building as a council house is, however, not secure. The excavators have pointed to similarities with the *bouleuterion* at Sikyon to support that interpretation, however that building is Hellenistic—see main text 1.6. Much closer parallels in terms of architecture and date are to be found in the Telesterion at Eleusis (Camp 2001, 106–108 and 283–286; see 283 for further references and 287 for actual state plan) or the Odeion of Perikles at Athens (Hurwit 1999, 216 ff. provides a good overview of the remains), neither of which was a *bouleuterion*. Donati 2011, 103 and 2015, 193 expresses reservations concerning the identification.

ing from the fourth century has been interpreted as the offices of some civic magistrates (I have already mentioned the stoa that was erected across the front of them).[170] It is possible that the small stoa with protruding wings, (the so-called Parascenic Building) constructed nearby in the second half of the 4th century, also served as the office of an important magistrate.[171] A Classical building on the agora of Orchomenos in Arkadia was once thought to have been the city's bouleuterion but was, in fact, probably a two-storeyed stoa as F.E. Winter has argued.[172] At Megalopolis a complex that the excavators have called the "Demosia Oikia" was built on the west side of the agora sometime in the mid-4th century incorporated offices for magistrates, two religious sanctuarys (one most likely to Zeus and Hestia) and a probable bouleuterion.[173]

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170 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 68–69; The reports of the excavations of this building and the late Hellenistic stoa that came to front it are published in Béquignon 1930, 408; Picard 1921, 97–99; Lévêque 1951, 146–154; Roux, Dunant et al. 1954, 191; Roux 1955, 361. The connection with administration was made on the basis of the discovery, within the rooms, of dedications to Aphrodite, Hermes and Hestia made by various magistrates. Jean-Yves Marc has argued that the rooms and stoa were erected as a single building in the third century—Marc 2001, 501–503. See also here pp. 189–193 for a summary of his argument. I find it more likely that the offices were older.

171 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 66–67; Martin 1959, 59–100. Because of its wings the building has been compared to both the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios at Athens (Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 101) and the Stoa of Philip at Megalopolis (Coulton 1976, 59). Both buildings (the latter especially) are, however, very much larger than the building at Thasos. A much closer parallel to this building, in terms of plan and size, is the Royal Stoa at Athens, after that building had been given protruding wings at the end of the fifth century BC. The Royal Stoa had only recently been discovered when Thompson and Wycherley and Coulton drew their comparisons. The building at Thasos has been dated to the time when Thasos was a member of the Athenian Empire, which makes an Athenian influence on the building not unlikely. The similarities between the two buildings is my first reason for thinking that the stoa at Thasos probably had a political function. Furthermore, in Hellenistic and Roman times the inside walls of the building were inscribed with lists of magistrates and communications with Rome (Grandjean and Salviat ibid.), which also suggests a connection with government.

172 The building's excavators assumed it was a bouleuterion because of the discovery of several proxeny decrees of the boule found on bronze plaques within the building—Blum and Plassart 1914a, 74; Blum and Plassart 1914b, 449 ff. F.E. Winter has pointed out the building's unsuitability for that function—it would have been dark and damp. He argues, quite rightly, that the presence of the plaques does not provide conclusive evidence for function—Winter 1987, 237–239.

173 For a good recent overview with plans and bibliography see Emme 2013, 89–92 and 340.

No Classical agora comes close to Athens for the sheer number of political buildings (see Figure 6): there was the Royal Stoa, office of the Archon Basileus (c. 500 BC),[174] the ("New") Bouleuterion (c. 460?)[175] and the Tholos;[176] it has also been plausibly argued that South Stoa I might have accommodated the offices of some of the city's minor magistrates.[177] In the northeast of the square a succession of large buildings were constructed, which almost certainly accommodated the city's law-courts.[178] The last of these was the enormous Square Peristyle Building, begun in the late fourth century and possibly never completed.[179] It marks the last major addition to the agora in the Classical period.

Previous scholars have also assumed that the Painted Stoa was occasionally used as a law court throughout the Classical period because it is attested as being used for that purpose in two inscriptions and in one of Demosthenes' speeches.[180] The timing of these references, however, suggests that this may have been a temporary use of the building. All three attestations are mid to late fourth century. It was at just this time that the older law courts in the northeast of the square were demolished to make way for the new

174 See n. 105.

175 The so-called "Old Bouleuterion" had been constructed in the early fifth century on the spot where the Hellenistic Metroon would later come to stand—Thompson 1937, 127 ff.; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 29 ff.; Camp 1986, 63 and 90. Its identification is based largely on its proximity to the so-called "New Bouleuterion". The identification and date have however been challenged—Miller 1995b; Cf Shear Jr. 1995. The "New Bouleuterion" is securely identified on the basis of literary and epigraphic testimonia which means that by the period in which we are interested here Athens definitely had a council house on its agora—Thompson 1937, 140 ff.; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 31 ff.; Camp 1986, 90–94. Wycherley 1957, page 128 ff. Note that the literary sources do not distinguish between an old and new *bouleuterion*.

176 Thompson 1940; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 41 ff.; Camp 1986, 94–97; Wycherley 1957, page 179 ff.

177 Camp 1986, 122–126. Thompson and Wycherley (1972, 74–78) suggested that possibly the *thesmothetai* might have dined in one of the rooms, the *metronomoi* in another.

178 Buildings A–E—Boegehold 1995, 13 ff.; Townsend 1995, 139–142.

179 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 60–61; Camp 1986, 167; Townsend 1995, 50–136; Boegehold 1995, 15–16, 108–113 and *passim*. Indications that the building was never finished have been discovered through careful observation of various architectural members—Townsend 1995, 56–57, 65, 69, 75, 99.

180 The inscriptions: IG II^2 1641 and IG II^2 1670 = Wycherley 1957, ***97*** and ***98***. The reference by Demosthenes—15 *Stephanos*, I. 17 = Wycherley 1957, ***61***. Both Wycherley ibid. and Boegehold (1995, 11 and 98) assume that this evidence reflects a general usage of the building in Classical times.

Square Peristyle Building, which would replace them.[181] There must have been a short period when the city lacked premises for the courts and would have needed to re-house them in a temporary setting. The Painted Stoa, a monumental public building standing very near the courts would have been most suitable for that purpose. Even if the building was only used to accommodate the courts as a stopgap measure the evidence at least underlines the close association between the Athenian agora and the business of public politics.

Whether Classical poleis required a large number of political buildings on their agoras or whether the Athenian situation was the unique product of the radical democracy is a contentious issue, and ultimately irresolvable until significantly more archaeological evidence is found elsewhere. This issue is at the heart of the ongoing debate about whether the area beneath the Roman forum at Corinth was the Greek agora or not, the apparent absence of early political buildings providing one of the key points in Charles Williams' argument that it was not.[182] There is no need to even try to resolve this controversy here but it is useful to briefly consider some of the implications of the discussion.

Recently Jamieson Donati has argued on two fronts that the area beneath the forum probably was the agora. In the first place he has pointed to the significance of a concentration of artefacts of Classical or Hellenistic date stamped with marks of state-ownership (roof tiles, dining wares, weights and measures, and counting tables) in that area.[183] I am persuaded that this means the area was a public space and am convinced by Donati's arguments that so-called Buildings I–IV beneath the South Stoa and the Columned Hall to the southwest of that stoa were civic buildings, possibly connected with administration of commerce.[184] Whether this means that the area must have been the agora, however, remains uncertain. The main problem is that we cannot rule out that there might have been even greater concentrations of such artefacts elsewhere at Corinth because much of the ancient city still lies buried beneath the modern town. Donati's concentration consists of only 14 objects (excluding two Athenian drinking vessels marked with "demosion" stamps in Attic dialect that were not necessarily state property in their new Corinthian context). Furthermore the Columned Hall, where the counting tables were discovered, has been dated to the second century BC, which raises the possibility that the area might

181 See here main text.

182 See section 1.1.

183 Donati 2010a.

184 For Buildings I–IV see Donati 2010b, 118–127 with references. For the Columned Hall see de Grazia and Williams 1977, 54 ff. and Williams and Zervos 1991, 9 ff.

only have become an agora, or taken on some agora-like functions at that time. Even Charles Williams accepted the civic nature of that building suggesting it was connected with the administration of the army on the basis of a restoration of the word "strata[gion]" on the inscription of one of the counting tables found there.[185]

Donati's second line of argument is to point to a lack of clear evidence for political or administrative buildings on the agoras of Argos or Elis in Archaic and Classical times.[186] He is certainly right that expectations of what an early Greek agora was may have been too coloured by knowledge of the Classical Athenian agora and that we should be open to the idea that political buildings may not have been a prerequisite for all agoras in Archaic and Classical times. However, his case studies are actually rather poorly understood for the period he is interested in. The full extent of the Argive agora is unknown which raises the possibility of the existence of as yet undiscovered political buildings in the vicinity of the square. Understanding of the agora of Elis is even more limited and depends heavily on Pausanias' description and surveys carried out in the early 20th century. Recent excavations in the area have not yet been published. Absence of evidence in these cases is therefore certainly not evidence for absence. Ultimately, therefore, the discussion only demonstrates how little we really know about the early development of the agora in Greece. Fortunately the situation becomes much clearer in Hellenistic times.

Two further points are worth making on the subject of early political buildings on agoras. Firstly, it is clear that town councils and other political bodies in Archaic and Classical times did not necessarily need specialised buildings for their regular meetings and could also be rather flexible as to where they met. Xenophon, for example, tells us that the boule of Thebes normally met in the Temple of Demeter on the Kadmeia, and on one occasion met in a stoa on the agora because the women of the city were using the temple for a festival.[187] Secondly, it is worth reflecting on the implications of the fact that even at Athens, one of the most important political buildings, the Prytaneion, has yet to be found but certainly did not stand on the Classical agora.[188] This reminds

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185 de Grazia and Williams 1977, 56; admitted by Donati 2010a, 11.

186 Donati 2011.

187 Xenophon *Hellenica* 5.2.29.

188 This is one of the main arguments for thinking that there must have been an older Archaic agora at Athens where the Prytaneion stood—see section 1.1. From Pausanias' testimony it was clear that this building was somewhere to the east of the Akropolis—Pausanias 1.18. Inscriptions relating to the Prytaneion have also been found in this area. Recently Geoffrey Schmalz has argued that a Roman building excavated in that area was a rebuilding of

us how incomplete our archaeological knowledge is for even the most famous ancient polis and also warns us that even at Athens the extensive excavations of the Classical agora should not seduce us into thinking that all business of government and administration was housed in buildings on the agora. In Hellenistic times, however, the agora certainly was typically the place where political buildings tended to be found. Let us now turn to the question of new political buildings being erected in the early Hellenistic period.

New magisterial offices are rare, except at completely new agoras such as those I have already mentioned in the north wing of the agora at Pella. It is also possible that some of the stoas I have discussed above might have had some political function. I have already mentioned the stoa at Megalopolis that Pausanias refers to as the *Archeia*, which seem to have been built slightly later than the period that is our focus in this chapter to replace the dining rooms in the Demosia Oikia, which were damaged by a fire in the late 3rd century.[189] At Kastro at Kallithea in Thessaly the apparently early Hellenistic Building 2 has been tentatively suggested as a prytaneion but the identification depends largely on the building's location on the agora and prytaneia are notoriously difficult to identify.[190] The most abundant and most secure evidence for new political buildings in this period concerns bouleuteria.

Early Hellenistic bouleuteria have been identified at Sikyon, Mantineia and Thasos. The function of the building at Sikyon is fairly secure because evidence has been found for banked seats and a clearly demarcated central speaking area.[191] Although the building is clearly Hellenistic the excavator neglected to pay much attention to the ceramic evidence that might have provided a more precise date. At Mantineia, the excavator, Fougères identified a building on the south side of the agora as the bouleuterion on the basis of the only comparanda then available—the bouleuteria at Eleusis and Olympia.[192] F.E. Winter has persuasively challenged that identification but has proposed a new candidate for a Hellenistic bouleuterion on the agora there. He argues that the ruins on the north of the square found beneath the Roman "Exedra of Epigone" were proba-

the Prytaneion—Schmalz 2006. Schmalz also provides a useful bibliography on early consideration of the question.

189 See 1.4 for the Archeia and for the Demosia Oikia n. 173.

190 Haagsma, Karapanou et al. 2011, 199–200. On prytaneia see here 1.6.

191 Griffin 1982, 11–13. Skalet 1928, 19–20 provides a more detailed description. Neither provides any dating evidence for the building—probably due to Orlandos' excavation strategy. See also most recently Lolos 2011a, 141–143, Lolos and Gourley 2011, 124 and Lolos 2011b, 281 all with references to the original excavation reports.

192 Fougères 1898, 175–178.

bly the council house.[193] At Thasos the so-called "batiment du tûf" is thought to be the bouleuterion on the basis of its size, shape and location.[194] These criteria are not conclusive but the interpretation is a reasonable one. Not enough of the building is preserved to say anything of its internal arrangements. At Messene, a recently excavated building in the vicinity of the Temple of Messene on the agora has been identified on epigraphic grounds as the "bouleion", an alternative name for a bouleuterion.[195] The inscription in question refers to the bouleion as being within the temple precinct.

On the whole these Hellenistic council houses were all fairly unimposing buildings, constructed of inexpensive materials and lacking much architectural embellishment or decoration. There are nonetheless some indications, at Thasos and Athens at least, of a desire to differentiate these buildings from the more public space of the main agora square. The entrance of the supposed bouleuterion at Thasos was turned away from the square and does not seem to have been monumentalised. Strikingly, however, the long side of the building that faced the agora was the only wall of the building to be constructed of marble.

Public buildings in the ancient world often stood for a very long time and most of those discussed in this section remained standing until well into the Roman period as we shall see in Chapters Three and Four. Buildings could retain their original appearance throughout their long history but sometimes they underwent significant modifications. It is in the early Hellenistic period that we encounter the earliest evidence for a major renovation of a pre-existing political building on an agora, the New Bouleuterion at Athens. In the early third century an Ionic porch was added to the southern side of the building and a wall was built to create a monumental avenue of approach from the agora alongside the Old Bouleuterion, which was probably now serving as the city's records house.[196] The entrance to this corridor was through a propylon,

193 Winter 1987, 240–242.

194 Grandjean and Salviat 2000; 66, Marc 1996, 109. Excavation reports: Daux 1950, 342 ff.; Lemerle 1939, 318, 537.

195 Themelis 2012, 46. The inscription in question records the resolution of a territorial dispute between Messene and Megalopolis; it was found *in situ* and mentions being set up near the *bouleion*—Themelis 2007, Themelis 2010. The *bouleion* is also referred to in an Augustan inscription, in which a benefactor offers to pay for repairing it and an associated stoa—SEG XXIII, 207.l9. Discussed by Luraghi 2008a, 307 n. 58. The LSJ provides three known appearances of the word—SIG3 1011(Chalcedon) = IK Kalchedon 10, FD III 3.:383 (Delphi second century BC) Pseudo Herodotus—*Life of Homer* 12.

196 This construction work appears to have all taken place at the same time and has been

also of the Ionic order. Dating from the same period, if not slightly later, a small fountain was also constructed in the courtyard of the bouleuterion.[197] At some point the seating arrangements within the building were also modified and what had most likely been wooden benches were replaced with stone ones.[198]

All of these changes might be thought of as enhancing the appearance of the building. It is tempting to speculate as to some possible connection between these transformations and an increase in the prestige of the *boule* itself as Athens' political system oscillated between democracy and oligarchy in the early Hellenistic period. The archaeological dating of these building works is not, however, precise enough to allow them to be pinned to specific historical circumstances.

1.7 Fountain Houses

A sufficient water supply was essential for any ancient city and several scholars have insisted that a fountain house was a common feature of a Greek agora.[199] At Corinth, the Peirene spring was situated just outside what is now called the "central area". Constructed as early as the 8th century BC with an elaborate and extensive system of underground reservoirs and tunnels the spring provided an abundant supply of water.[200] As mentioned several times already, however, there is disagreement as to whether this "central area" was the city's agora.[201] For Charles Williams, the fact that this water supply was located outside the "central area", and that there is therefore no fountain within the area, is a powerful argument against the area being the agora. He also regards several smaller fountains within the area as having a cultic rather than a practical function. I cannot consider this issue at length here but it is worth stressing that I am actually only aware of Archaic or Classical fountain houses on three agoras. Athens' Southeast Fountainhouse dated back to the sixth century BC, making it one of the first buildings erected there.[202] An Archaic fountain, the

dated by several late fourth century coins found in the foundation layers—Thompson 1937, 167.

197 Thompson 1940, 103–110.

198 Thompson 1937, 158.

199 Wycherley 1962, 53; Williams 1970, 9–12.

200 For the early history of Peirene see Hill 1964 and now Robinson 2011, 124 ff.

201 See here I.1.

202 Whether the area was already the agora under the Peisistratids is controversial. The

so-called Fountain of Theagenes, was also built near the agora of Megara.[203] At Eretria a fountain house was constructed in the fourth century.[204] At the end of the Classical period a second fountain house was built in the southwest corner of the Athenian agora, possibly as a response to drought.[205] There is therefore little reason to assume that a fountain house was a prerequisite for an agora in pre-Hellenistic times.

The Classical fountains at Athens and Eretria continued in use throughout the Hellenistic period, as did Peirene and the smaller fountains at Corinth. In the third century BC a fountain some 40 m long was constructed in the northwest corner of the agora of Messene which was presumably the so-called Arsinoe Fountain mentioned by Pausanias.[206] At Argos, beneath the remains of a later Roman *nymphaeum*, the remains of a much older fountain house were found, which Marchetti and Kolokotsas believe to have been a shrine dedicated to Amymone.[207] The fountain house at Corinth, known by the name Glauke, was in Roman times believed to have been of great antiquity.[208] Recent study of its remains has, however, revealed that it too was a Hellenistic structure.[209] It lies some distance beyond the "central area" so that, regardless of whether that area was the city's agora, Glauke cannot really be thought of as an agora fountain. It was nonetheless in a fairly central location within the city. These fountains were all largely functional buildings, with little or no sculptural ornamentation, something that stands in sharp contrast with the Roman nymphaea that I shall discuss later. However, there are some instances where fountain houses appear to have been linked to cultic activity—e.g. Peirene and Glauke

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fountain house was, however, certainly in use for the Classical period when the area definitely was the agora.

203 Attested in Pausanias (1.40.1) but with archaeological remains that certainly date to the Archaic period—Longfellow 2011, 11; Gruben 1964; Glaser 1983, 71–72.

204 Bauman, Beck et al. 2004, 24. It may have replaced an older building.

205 Camp 1986, 156.

206 Themelis 2003a, 54–55. Stressed by Longfellow 2011, 109 as being exceptionally large for that time. The building has been studied in full and published by Reinholdt 2009. See also the earlier article by Felten and Reinholdt 2001. Pausanias mentions the Arsinoe Fountain at 4.31.6 and tells us that it was named after a daughter of Leukippos.

207 A Danaid beloved of Poseidon and referred to by Kallimachos—*Aetia* fr. 66 Pf. They also believe the structure to be one of four sacred wells referred to by Strabo (8.6.8). Marchetti and Rizakis 1995, 456; Marchetti and Kolokotsas 1995, 236.

208 Pausanias (2.3.6) states that it took its name from Jason's bride who leapt into the spring to ease her pain after she had put on the poisoned dress given to her by Medea.

209 See Robinson 2005, 133.

at Corinth and the fountain at Argos.[210] Fountains may therefore sometimes have had a significance beyond a purely practical one.

In addition to these fountains and springs attested archaeologically it is worth adding that Pausanias specifically remarked on seeing springs around the agora of Geronthrai, and a well at Pyrrhichos which was reputed to be a gift of Silenos.[211] It is possible that one or both of these might have been of great antiquity but we cannot be certain of this. In any case, it should be clear from this handful of examples that for the vast majority of sites discussed in this book, no fountain house has yet been found in the vicinity of the agora. In spite of assumptions to the contrary, agora fountains therefore must be thought of as a luxury rather than a necessity for a Greek polis.[212]

1.8 Space for the Gods

One of the things that united the Greeks was their religion. Greeks everywhere recognised the Olympian pantheon and honoured their gods in the same way—with festivals, athletic and artistic competitions, processions and, especially, with animal sacrifice. Against this background of shared ritual and belief there was, however, tremendous diversity from city to city in terms of the importance attached to different cults and in terms of which aspects of the gods were worshipped. There was also great variation in *where* the different gods were worshipped. Two gods with the epithet "agoraios", Zeus and Hermes, were fairly commonly worshipped on the agora but they were by no means ubiquitous.[213] Zeus Agoraios was also worshipped at locations other than the agora

210 Pausanias (2.3.2) states that the Peirene spring took its name from a woman who was transformed into a spring because of the tears she shed in lamentation at the death of her son at the hands of Artemis. The name itself is well attested in Classical times so the story may also have been an old one—see Pindar *Olympian* 13.61, Euripides *Medea* 69. These mythical connotations are suggestive of a religious significance. The same is true of the link Pausanias makes between Glauke and the Jason and Medea story—see n. 208.

211 Pausanias 3.22.7 and 3.25.3.

212 The same conclusion was reached by Sielhorst 2015, 37.

213 Zeus Agoraios: Martin 1951, 176 ff.; on the agora at Sparta—Pausanias 3.11.9; Zeus Agoraios Thasios: Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 76. Hermes Agoraios: Martin 1951, 189 ff.; At Athens—Wycherley 1957, ***296–300***; at Sikyon—Pausanias 2.9.8; at Sparta—Pausanias 3.11.11; Pherae—Pausanias 7.22.2; at Thebes—Pausanias 9.17.2. We cannot know when most of the cults reported by Pausanias were established but many of them may have been of great antiquity. Statues of Hermes are among the sights that Philostratus includes in his evo-

in certain cities.[214] Zeus was connected with the agora as the god of political assemblies and justice, Hermes with the commercial activity of the market.[215] Cults of these gods with different epithets were also particularly common on the agora.[216] At the same time, gods whose spheres of influence had less direct connection with the agora also often had temples there. Diversity of religious practice is of interest here because it led to great variation in the types of religious buildings and monuments to be found on agoras. There was even greater room for variation when it came to the numerous hero shrines that could be found on most agoras but because these were, by their very nature, smaller structures, their impact on the built environment of the agora was less pronounced and their remains are less obvious in the archaeological record.[217] Pausanias' work contains considerable information about the diversity of cults that were accommodated on Greek agoras in his day. Many of the temples and shrines he mentions were probably very old but there are also good exam-

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cative description of agoras of deserted cities: "some destroyed by the hand of man, others by that of time"—*Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 6.4.10–14.

214 E.g. at Athens he seems to have been worshipped solely on the Pnyx until the transfer of his altar into the agora in late Hellenistic/early Roman times—see here 3.15. At Thebes Pausanias reports seeing a statuary of Zeus Agoraios "on the road from the Neistan gates"—9.25.4. At Aegion he reports a cult of Zeus Homagyrios, which must be a related aspect of Zeus—7.24.2.

215 On both see Martin here n. 213. For Hermes Agoraios it is worth noting the seemingly contradictory interpretation of Walter Burkert (1985) that (p. 159): "Mercury, the god of trade and commodities, with a bulging money-bag in his hand, was a purely Roman metamorphosis of Hermes" and (p. 184): "Hermes sends profit in the market place as agoraios".

216 Pausanias reports seeing a Zeus at Piraeus (no epithet 1.1.3), Athens (Eleutherios 1.3.2), three at Corinth (unnamed, Chthonios and Hypsistos, 2.2.8, though of course, Roman in date), two at Sikyon (Meilichios and unnamed 2.9.6), Argos (Phyxios 2.21.2), Troezen (Soter 2.31.10), Sparta (Xenios, 3.11.11), Messene (Soter 4.31.6), Korone (Soter 4.34.6), Elis (various altars 6.24.3), Aegion (Soter 7.23.9), Megalopolis (Lykaios 8.30.2 and Soter 8.32.10), Tegea (Teleios 8.48.6); an altar of Zeus Soter has been found on the agora of Kassope. See here 1.11. Pausanias saw a Hermes at Troezen (Polygios 2.31.10), Methana (unnamed 2.34.1), Boaea (3.22.13), Megalopolis (8.30.6), Koroneia (Epimelios 9.34.3). The close association of these deities with the agora is suggested by the fact that Pausanias either states or implies that for several of these cults the statues or altars stood in the open space of the square rather than in temples. We cannot of course be sure that these cult places seen in the 2nd century AD had a much longer history. See main text this section.

217 On heroic intra-urban tombs in Greek cities in Roman times with a consideration of the problems involved in assessing the evidence for earlier periods see Dickenson (2016).

ples of cult places becoming "invented" in later periods, particularly under the Roman Empire, as poleis sought new focal points for communal memory.[218] Where we lack supporting evidence it is therefore difficult to be sure exactly how old Pausanias' cult places were.[219] Because of these problems of evidence I shall therefore restrict my focus here to major religious structures—temples, altars and temenoi—and, of those, sanctuaries that can at least be dated with some degree of confidence to the early Hellenistic period or earlier.

The practicalities of Greek religion played an important role in determining where religious buildings could stand in relation to the agora. Sacrifices were generally performed facing the rising sun, which meant that altars and temples tended to face east.[220] Within an open space like an agora this ruled out a location along the eastern edge. The optimal location for temples and altars was therefore the western edge of the square. At Athens, already in the Archaic period, a series of primitive temple-like buildings were erected along the western edge of the agora.[221] During the fifth and fourth centuries these were replaced by more monumental religious structures (see Figure 6): the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (not a temple but clearly a cultic building because it had an altar),[222] the majestic Hephaisteion overlooking the square from the

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218 One of the most striking examples is the Temple of Ares at Athens, a genuinely Classical building, moved into the agora in the Roman period and which Pausanias mentions as if it had always been there—see here 3.10. On the invention of ancient tomb monuments in Roman Greece see Dickenson Forthcoming-b.

219 Cf Marantou 2011 who aims to provide a catalogue of cult places found on Archaic agoras in the Peloponnese but relies heavily on Pausanias' testimony.

220 On east-facing sacrifices for ouranic deities (the Olympian gods believed to live above the world of the mortals as opposed to chthonic deities of the world below) see Mikalson 2005, 6.

221 See Camp 1986, 37 fig. 21. For the Archaic shrine beneath the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios see Thompson 1937, 9 ff.; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 96. For the Archaic Temple of the Mother Goddess see Thompson 1937, 135–140; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 30–31; Camp 1986, 38 and 93. Note that Miller 1995b argues that the building usually interpreted as the "Old Bouleuterion" was in fact the Temple of the Mother Goddess; for him the Archaic remains to the north of it are too insubstantial to be a temple (p. 135, n. 6). This argument is refuted vehemently by Shear Jr. 1995. For an Archaic predecessor of the Temple of Apollo—Thompson 1937, 79–84. Its existence, however, has been challenged by Hedrick 1988, 189 ff.

222 Late fifth century—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 96–103 (p. 96 on the altar); Camp 1986, 105–107; Wycherley 1957, *24–46*. It is clear that the cult of Zeus Eleutherios was in some way equated with that of Zeus Soter—see Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 101; Oliver 2003. Kurt

kolonos agoraios,[223] the Temple of Apollo Patroos,[224] and the small temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria alongside it.[225] A similar arrangement is seen at Mantineia where a series of temples of uncertain date were found clustered together at the western side of the square, just before the theatre.[226] The Archaic Temple of Apollo at Sikyon, rebuilt in the second century BC, was located towards the western side of the agora there though within the square and not on its edge.[227]

The other possibility was to locate temples or altars somewhere within the open space of the square. Returning to Athens, the Altar of the Twelve Gods is an example of this.[228] The Sanctuary of Aiakos on the southern side of the square—a truly enormous structure considering that it was dedicated to a comparatively minor hero—had enough space within it to allow for east facing sacrifices, although the nature of the cult and provisions for it are unknown.[229]

Raaflaub has argued that Zeus was originally worshipped on the agora as Soter and only acquired the epithet Eleutherios as the ideal of freedom gained currency at the end of the fifth century—Raaflaub 2004, 108 ff.

223 Late fifth century—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 140–149 (with extensive bibliography) Camp 1986, 82–87; Wycherley 1957, ***281–295***.

224 Fourth century—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 136–139; Camp 1986, 159–161; see also Hedrick 1988, who argues, against previous views, that there was no worship of Apollo at that location before this building appeared in the fourth century.

225 Fourth century—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 139–140; Thompson 1937, 105; Wycherley 1957, ***112***.

226 Fougères 1898, 186 ff.

227 Lolos 2011a, 148–149. See also here 1.4.

228 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 129–136; Camp 1986, 40–42. Laura Gadberry (1992) has substantially revised the dating of the various phases of the enclosure. Homer Thompson once made a strong case that the elusive Altar of Pity and the Altar of the Twelve Gods were in fact one and the same—Thompson 1952a. Gadberry dismisses that interpretation, arguing that "recent research, which has convincingly placed the Altar of Pity farther east, in the Roman Agora" invalidates Thompson's arguments (ibid., 478). Her only reference to this recent research is to Eugene Vanderpool's tentative suggestion (Vanderpool 1974) that Pausanias' "agora" was the Roman Agora, which would indeed have implications for locating the "Altar of Pity", which Pausanias locates in the agora. While I have argued elsewhere that Vanderpool's reading of Pausanias is probably correct I do not believe that Thompson's suggestion regarding the altar can be brushed aside quite so easily—see Dickenson 2015.

229 The existence of the Aiakeion at Athens was long known from a mention in Herodotus (5.89). It has now been fairly securely identified as the square enclosure on the southwest of the square, which was once thought to be the Heliaia, the city's most famous law court. The correct identification came about through the discovery of an inscription which

At Thasos the temenos and Temple of Zeus Agoraios Thasios was located within the square itself and towards the eastern edge.[230] At Messene several temples are known to have stood within the open space of the agora. Most recently the foundations of the Doric Temple of the personified Messene have been discovered.[231] As yet no pronouncement has been made on the date of the temple but it must have been Classical if Pausanias' attribution of the paintings that he saw there, to artists known to have been active in the fourth century, is correct.[232] The area is noteworthy as a setting for honorific monuments to Roman emperors, a cluster of which were found *in situ* in its vicinity.[233] These monuments suggest the cult occupied a central place in the civic consciousness of the city in Roman times that, in view of the nature of the goddess, it had probably held since its inception.

It is clear from literary and epigraphic evidence that at Argos the agora was intimately connected with the Temple of Apollo Lykeios.[234] That temple has not actually been located but there are good grounds for thinking that it probably lay close to the excavated area on its northern side.[235] The final thing that needs to be said about the place of temples within Classical Greek agoras is that, as J.J. Coulton has astutely observed, temples were never made the focal point of the entire square.[236]

mentions storing enormous quantities of grain in the Aiakeion on the agora. This was the only structure on the agora of appropriate size and date. See Stroud 1998. Older scholarship that discusses the structure as the Heliaia includes—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 62–65 and Camp 1986, 46–47. A last defence of the interpretation that the building was a lawcourt can be found in Camp 1995.

230 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 76.

231 Themelis 2007, 50 ff. Themelis 2012, 45–47.

232 On dating the artists to the fourth century—Luraghi 2008a, 269 On the physical remains of the building and its currently not being dated see Luraghi ibid., 273 The excavations of this temple are reported in Themelis 2002, 42–46, Themelis 2004a, 34–38. The temple was identified by *in situ* stelai that mention it—Themelis 2004a, 37–38. At least seven stelai have been found alongside the temple which are all fourth and early third century BC—Luraghi ibid., 273 n. 97.

233 Themelis 2012, 46.

234 Donati 2015, 189–190; Tomlinson 1972, 20–21 and n. 10; and on the importance of that cult at Argos ibid. 204–206. The temple is mentioned by Thucydides (5.47.11) as being on the agora in the late 5th century BC.

235 For a full discussion of the evidence and the associated topographical problems see Marchetti and Rizakis 1995. See also here 3.9.

236 He argues that even under Roman influence this did not change—Coulton 1976, 172.

In the early Hellenistic period new temples and temenoi continued to be erected on agoras. At Thasos, the "Grand Autel" has been dated to the third century BC.[237] At Argos the so-called Monument D was constructed in the same century in the centre of the agora; bases to the north and south of it are thought to have been for the purpose of carrying votive offerings.[238] Recent excavations at Megalopolis have uncovered stamped tiles which attest to the repair of a sanctuary on the west of the square towards the end of the first half of the Hellenistic period by Philopoimen (presumably *the* Philopoimen).[239] The tiles are stamped with a dedication to Zeus, which has led to the identification of the complex as the Sanctuary of Zeus Homarios mentioned by Polybios.[240] At Messene pieces of architecture, including architectural sculpture, and inscriptions have been found within the agora which can be connected with the temples of Poseidon, Zeus Soter and Aphrodite that Pausanias mentions; some at least are Hellenistic.[241] Further south, in the area where the Asklepieion complex would later be built, an Archaic temple had been incorporated into the new Hippodamian grid following the city's foundation in the early fourth century and was now surrounded by a wooden colonnade.[242] Just to the south of the agora and to the west of the Asklepieion area was a fourth/third cen-

237 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 72. Dunant and Roux 1953, 272–276; Roux 1955, 351–352. Recent excavations have revealed bones that have been associated with sacrifices at the altar (Fernoux, Grandjean et al. 1999, 495) and, curiously, a so-called trittoa sacrifice of three animals—a sheep, a ram and a pig—each cut in half (*Archaeological Reports* 2002–2003, 68).

238 Piérart and Touchais 1996, 66.

239 Lauter and Spyropoulos 1998. (Summarized by Hans Lauter in *Archaeological Reports* 2002–2003, 28).

240 Polybios 5.93.10 ff.

241 Pausanias (4.31.6) The finds include: for the Temple of Poseidon: a metope with a relief showing Andromeda tied to a rock with a dragon guarding her, which has been dated to the third century BC—Themelis 2012, 44; Themelis 2003a, 53; Themelis 1990, 79. An inscription from that temple—Themelis 1994a, 95. Zeus Soter: Themelis 2012, 44; the evidence consists of a second century AD inscription (IG V[1] 1440) and two recently discovered votive inscriptions of the Hellenistic period (inv nos. 12685 and 13154 respectively), the second of which is a dedication by Damophon and his sons of akroteria sculptures—Themelis 2012, 44–45. On Damophon see here 2.2. There was also another second century AD dedication by a certain Zoilos—Themelis 2010, 112; Lakonian roof tiles have also been found that have been attributed to the building—Themelis 1998a, 92–93. Aphrodite: some pieces of statuary—Themelis 2003a, 53 (with picture) and Themelis 2012, 45 with references.

242 Themelis 2003a, 83.

tury BC sanctuary, identified as belonging to Demeter and the Dioskouroi.[243] In the nearby Temple of Artemis Orthia, which itself was a late Classical building, a new statue of the goddess was set up in the third century BC, of which fragments have been found during excavation.[244] In Athens in the late third century BC, a new temenos was laid out, just outside the square to the northwest, for the Demos and the Charites, though the temple itself was never finished.[245]

A striking feature shared by several of the older agoras of Greece is that they contained circular structures, probably religious in character.[246] The agora of Thasos had a round enclosure with a rectangular altar at its centre. It was constructed in the Archaic period and rebuilt on at least two occasions, the first time being in the third/second century BC.[247] At Argos, there was a semicircular enclosure on the north side of the agora, consisting of a low wall with a bench running around the inside. The excavated structure clearly rests on the steps of Building K, which has a secure *terminus post quem* of 410 BC provided by a Corinthian coin found among its foundations.[248] This building too had an altar at its centre, which has been dated to the mid fifth century, suggesting that the enclosure was also at least that old.[249] Then, there is the enigmatic tholos on the agora of Eretria (see Figure 16), again an older building that was renovated or modified in the Hellenistic period.[250] At Sparta, a round building,

243 Themelis 2003a, 87–89.

244 Themelis 1994b; Themelis 2003a, 85–87. Morizot had argued that this was actually the temple of the goddess Messene—Morizot 1994. His arguments were rather tenuous and his case has now been conclusively disproved by the discovery of the Temple of Messene within the agora—see here 2.2.

245 This sanctuary was discovered and destroyed during the creation of the Athens-Piraeus railway—Camp 2010a, 42. Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 159–160. A handsome marble altar originating in the sanctuary and dated to c. 197/6 BC can be seen in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. On the history of the sanctuary see Habicht 1997 Habicht 1997, 180–181 and also Habicht 1982, 84–96.

246 A connection between round buildings and early Classical agoras has been discussed recently by Lippolis 2011, drawing mainly on the Tholos at Athens, a round building from Gortyn and the still undiscovered Skias at Sparta as case studies. The discussion does not pay much attention to what these structures were for.

247 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 76.

248 Pariente, Piérart et al. 1998, 215; Pariente 1991, 675. Marchetti and Rizakis (1995, 455) argued that it might have replaced an older completely circular enclosure.

249 Pariente 1988, 702.

250 Bauman, Beck et al. 2004, 246. Repairs in fourth and third centuries—Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995, 47. M. Pagano wanted to identify the Tholos at Eretria as part of a market-building—

FIGURE 16 *The Tholos at Eretria*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

Roman in its last phase but with a long history, has been excavated somewhere near where the agora must have been.[251] Identifying the building is difficult because Pausanias reports seeing several buildings in the centre of the city, that he either describes as round or which might well have been.[252] One of these was the "choros" where youths danced in the *gymnopaidiai* festival in honour of Apollo, which Pausanias does locate on the agora.[253] Whether this is the building that is visible at the site or not it therefore seems likely that there was

Pagano 1984, 112–114 and 117–118, I and II—as de Ruyt 2000, 182 argues this argument makes little sense. There are no grounds for thinking the Eretrian Tholos was part of a larger building; furthermore it pre-dates the appearance of separate market buildings in Greece by at least two centuries.

251 For the excavation reports see Waywell and Wilkes 1994 and 1993 and Waywell, Wilkes et al. 1997.

252 The *choros* on the agora 3.11.9, the skias 3.12.10, a circular building with statues of Olympian Zeus and Aphrodite 3.12.11, the cenotaph of Brasidas 3.14.1. All were suggested as potential candidates for the circular building by Waywell 1999.

253 Pausanias 3.11.9.

at least one round cultic enclosure on the agora of Sparta. At the site of Kastro at Kallithea in Thessaly, a round (or from the plans more oblong-looking) building has also been discovered recently on the agora.[254]

An attractive hypothesis is that these enigmatic round buildings were somehow connected with ritual dancing, or theatrical or musical competitions in honour of the gods. It cannot be a coincidence that most of these round enclosures are found on some of the oldest of Greek agoras. Some scholars have accepted that one of the most important functions of the agora in the Archaic period was to provide space for large-scale religious festivals that brought the entire community together.[255] Frank Kolb has made a good case that, in particular, the sorts of festivals that took place in theatres in the Classical period and later had originally been held on the agora.[256] At Athens a part of the agora retained the name of "orchestra" down to Roman times as a reminder of this early function.[257] The area is associated in the literary sources with *ikria*, or viewing stands.[258] Partly drawing on the Spartan parallel, partly reasoning on the basis of the enclosure's likely proximity to the Sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios, Piérart and Touchais have argued that the enclosure at Argos might have been used for dances in honour of that god.[259]

There are some grounds for associating sporting festivals, in particular, with the early agora, though some of the evidence is problematic.[260] At Athens many scholars believe that the area of the agora was the original venue for the Panathenaic Games.[261] A series of limestone blocks found in the northwest of the square, evenly spaced, and with holes for posts, used to be interpreted as the starting mechanism for a racetrack.[262] Postholes in the vicinity of these blocks

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254 Haagsma, Karapanou et al. 2011, 199–200.
255 Crielaard 2009, 365–366 (with references); Hölkeskamp 2002, 319.
256 Kolb 1981 *passim*.
257 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 126–128.
258 Wycherley 1957, *524–528*. This is challenged by Stephen Miller (1995a, 218–219) who argues that the early orchestra was in fact part of the Archaic agora.
259 Piérart and Touchais 1996, 49–50.
260 In general on the agonal function of the agora see Martin 1951, 202–223.
261 Kyle 1987, 57–64 considers the evidence at length. He argues that in the eighth–seventh centuries, when the area of the agora was still in use as a cemetery, it was probably the setting for athletic competitions associated with funerals; in the sixth–fifth centuries these were replaced by festivals of a more civic nature i.e. the Panathenaic Festival. In the fourth century equestrian events came to predominate. The connection between the agora and sporting competitions was first explored (as Kyle acknowledges) by Thompson 1961. See also Camp 1980 and Neils and Tracy 2003.
262 Camp 1986, 45–46; Shear Jr. 1975, 363–365. While acknowledging their similarity to blocks

were interpreted as evidence for viewing stands.[263] Very recent discoveries of further rows of such blocks, parallel and perpendicular to the first, in excavations by the Ephoria and by the Athenian Agora excavations, have, however, revealed that this was actually a square enclosure, some 12 × 15 m.[264] John Camp has interpreted this as the *perichoinisma* or "roped-off enclosure" mentioned by Plutarch.[265] The function of this enclosure is unclear and Camp expresses hope that future research might shed more light on its use. Earlier scholars also suggested that the Panathenaic Way itself was used as a racetrack and was known in antiquity as the "dromos"; Stephen Mitchell, however, has challenged this view, pointing out that there is only one ancient reference to the Panathenaic Way by that name and that this source is rather late—the 4th century AD author Himerios—and does not actually say that the road was a racetrack.[266] It is, however, clear that in Classical times the agora was the venue for at least some part of the Panathenaia's competitions—equestrian events, such as the *apobates*, which involved competitors springing on and off moving chariots, are securely attested as taking place in the square.[267] We will see that in Roman times a racetrack was also a central feature on the agora of Argos. Its alignment with a Classical drain, by then no longer visible, suggests that there was probably an earlier track, although definite evidence is lacking.[268]

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of starting mechanisms elsewhere, Shear nonetheless favoured the interpretation that the blocks were used to set up a temporary fence to close the agora on occasion. Kyle, (1987, 61 with references) argued that the similarity of these blocks to those from a fourth century starting mechanism in the stadium at Priene was a decisive argument that these blocks did indeed indicate the start of a racetrack.

263 Camp 1986, 45–46. It is possible that some of the literary references to *ikria* (see n. 258) have to do with the Panathenaic Games rather than the old orchestra. There is at least one reference that securely attests to stands for viewing the cavalry procession of the festival in the early Hellenistic period—Athenaeus 4.167 ff. = Wycherley 1957, ***302***.

264 Camp 2015, 473–475; Saraga 2013, esp. pp. 134–137.

265 Camp 2015, 474; Plutarch *Lives of the Ten Orators* (*Mor.* 847A).

266 On the "dromos" see Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 121; Himerios *Orations* 3.12 = Wycherley 1957, ***1***. Miller argues (1995a, 216–218) that on this slender evidence the idea that the Panathenaic Way was commonly known by that name in antiquity has become established in modern scholarship through frequent repetition.

267 A black figure *lekythos* depicting an *apobates* scene is discussed among the highlights of the recent excavations in the agora—Camp 2015, 470–472. Kyle 1987, 62–63 discusses the broader evidence. See also Camp 1980.

268 The orientation of the track is precisely perpendicular to that of the triangular basin associated with the Classical drain—Pariente, Piérart et al. 1998, 216. A gutter much older than the track was also found running parallel to it, slightly to the north—see Piérart,

It is frustrating that the evidence for early Greek agoras as festival spaces is so fragmentary because it could have important repercussions for our understanding of what exactly an early agora was. The issue of whether the political or commercial function came first on the Greek agora has generated considerable discussion.[269] It is possible that religion was originally more important than either. If agoras were typically venues for festivals it might mean that those scholars who see the agora as a religious temenos are right after all.[270] Furthermore, the issue also has a bearing on the question of when exactly the Classical Athenian agora became the agora. Those who argue that this only happened in the fifth century point to a lack of political buildings before that time.[271] Perhaps, however, provision for festivals was more important for an agora than political buildings at that time. The area was clearly in use as a public space in the sixth century BC, precisely at the time when the Peisistratids reorganised the Panathenaic festival.[272] The evidence for festival activity is therefore, for John Camp, a reason to think that the area *was* the agora at that time.[273] In a similar vein, and just as controversial, is the issue of whether the area beneath the Roman forum at Corinth was the old Greek agora. No political buildings have been found there but both a racetrack and a circular enclosure have. Charles Williams' interpretation is that the area was not an agora but a festival space.[274] I do not believe the issue can be settled either way with the evidence currently available. However, if early agoras *were* primarily festival spaces the central area at Corinth might be the agora after all. Whether or not the primary function of an agora in Archaic and early Classical times was to serve as the venue for festivals it is at least possible to conclude from the widespread presence of circular enclosures and other evidence just mentioned that there was a deep-rooted connection between the agora and religion.

Thalmann et al. 1987, 585–588, Philippa-Touchais, Touchais et al. 2000, 496; Philippa–Touchais, Touchais et al. 2001, 565.

269 E.g. arguing for the primacy of the political function—Martin 1951, 17–41; that the commercial function came first—Marc 1998, 9; that both might have developed simultaneously—Millett 1998, 274.

270 See here 1.1.

271 On when the Athenian agora became the agora see here p. 5–6.

272 On the Peisistratid organisation of the festival—Neils 1992, 20. That the area was in use as a public space is suggested by archaeological evidence for levelling operations in parts of the square at this time—Thompson 1966a, 45.

273 Camp 1994, 10. Also suggested by Neils and Tracy 2003, 11.

274 Williams 1970. Cf Broneer 1942 who also interpreted the area as a festival space, which for him, was perfectly consistent with thinking of the area as the agora.

At old Greek cities this connection continued well into the Hellenistic period and beyond, which is what matters most here. As already mentioned, the circular enclosures at Argos and Eretria were both renovated in Hellenistic times. Sparta also still had its "choros" in Pausanias' day. At Athens certain events of the Panathenaia—equestrian events, the *anthippasia*, the *apobates*—were still being held in the agora in the fourth century BC and possibly beyond that.[275] The procession of the Panathenaic Festival continued to pass through the square until Roman times and there is reason to think that certain changes to the built environment in Hellenistic and Roman times were intended to improve the amenities of the festival.[276] There is also evidence for feasting and celebration taking place in the agora in the second century AD in the context of the city Dionysia.[277] If the area beneath the forum at Corinth was the agora then it retained more of its Archaic appearance and possibly therefore its function in the Hellenistic period than any other agora known archaeologically.

It is therefore striking that evidence for an overt connection with religion is absent from several new agoras laid out at this time. There was, for example, no temple on the agora at Pella, as we have seen. The same is true of Kastro at Kallithea in Thessaly, an as yet unidentified polis but possibly ancient Pneuma, although the enigmatic round structure there might have had a religious significance and, as at Pella, a temple has been discovered in an area immediately adjacent to the agora.[278] The reduced prominence of religious architecture on some agoras at this time can perhaps be explained by what Vernant has seen as a tendency towards greater rationality in the Greek conception of space, beginning in the later Classical period.[279] In the Archaic period all facets of public life were intensely concentrated on the agora. From late Classical times there were tendencies toward fragmentation, with some of the old functions

275 Kyle 1987, 62–63 discusses the evidence. See also Camp 1980.

276 E.g. the terraces along the fronts of the Stoa of Attalos and Middle Stoa (second century BC) (see here 2.3) and the paving of the Panathenaic way at the point that it leaves the southern edge of the square (second century AD) (see 4.2).

277 Philostratus describes how Herodes Atticus provided wine for citizens and foreigners alike who would drink it reclining on couches of ivy in the Kerameikos—*Lives of the Sophists* 2.549. Elsewhere he uses the word "Kerameikos" to refer to the Athenian agora—2.571. In the same passage he also talks of Herodes sacrificing a hundred oxen in a single day and laying on feasts for the Athenians. Although he does not mention the location it is tempting to think that the implication is that this too took place in the agora, particularly in view of the large scale of the event.

278 Haagsma, Karapanou et al. 2011, 201–203.

279 Vernant 1983.

of the agora moving out into theatres, stadia, and separate market buildings. Religion too, it seems, may sometimes have departed from the main square. However, at Kassope, while there was no temple on the agora a row of four altars stood at the western end of the square.[280] This reminds us that temples were not a requirement for Greek religious cult. The open spaces of agoras without temples may still have served as settings for processions and sacrifices quite possibly focussed on altars that have not (yet) been discovered.

1.9 The Agora in Relation to Other Public Spaces—Theatres and Gymnasia

As already mentioned, Frank Kolb has argued that Greek drama was born on the agora and only in the late Classical period was relocated to specialised theatre buildings.[281] A link in function between the two areas is also seen in the way that the word “agora” could be used to refer to political assembly meetings, while in historical periods the most common location for such meetings was the theatre.[282] The first great stone theatres of Greece appeared in the late fourth and early third centuries BC—e.g. the Theatre of Dionysos at Athens under Lykourgos and the one at the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros—and it was in the Hellenistic period that the building type really came into its own. Shipley and Hansen have recently pointed out that approximately half the stone theatres known from archaeological or written evidence are Hellenistic.[283]

The connection between the agora and theatre persisted into the late Classical period and is reflected in some cities in the way that the two were positioned in relation to one another within the city. At Argos, Messene, Megalopolis, Elis, Mieza in Macedonia and Aigai, the old capital of that region, the agora was located either immediately next to the theatre or very near it.[284] For the polis

280 Sielhorst 2015, 31 and 162.

281 Kolb 1981, *passim*.

282 On theatres as assembly places see McDonald 1943, 40 and 43; Wycherley 1962, 163, Kolb 1981, 88ff.; with more scepticism as to how widespread this use of the theatre was and as to whether this was typically the theatre’s primary function see Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 50–53 and Frederiksen 2002, *passim* and esp. 82. On the theatre being the common venue for assembly meetings in the Greek world in the 1st century BC see Cicero For *Flaccus* 16.

283 Shipley and Hansen 2006, 56; they are drawing on Frederiksen 2002.

284 The agoras of Argos, Messene and Megalopolis are discussed in some detail here. A full

of Epidauros, Spyros Petrounakos has recently argued that the agora was near the theatre. Although his arguments are not conclusive—a dedication by an *agoranomos* in the theatre does not necessarily mean that the agora must have been nearby and Petrounakos himself argues that the agora boundary stones found in the vicinity were not *in situ*—the terrain certainly seems suitable.[285] However, it was by no means a hard and fast rule that theatres and agoras had to be situated side by side. At other cities the theatre was further removed from the agora, although still within a fairly short walking distance. Such cities include Eretria and Thasos; the distance between the agora and theatre at both cities was around 350 m.[286] Surprisingly perhaps, considering that Kolb makes so much of the Athenian evidence, the distance between the theatre and agora was greater at Athens than at most other Classical poleis. There the agora and the Theatre of Dionysus were separated by the Akropolis, making it a walk of more than 700 m from one to the other. The city's only odeion in the Classical period, the Odeion of Perikles, stood directly next to the theatre. Athens was, however, exceptional in having a separate location for its assembly meetings: the Pnyx was much closer to and more directly accessible from the agora. The Pnyx in effect fulfilled what would have been a function of the theatre in most other Greek cities.

Moving into the Hellenistic period there are several cities where one side of the agora was actually bounded by a theatre. At Kassope, a theatre-like building stood at the eastern end of the square at an angle of approximately 75 degrees to the northern stoa, with the cavea facing into the space of the agora.[287] The agora at nearby Byllis also had a theatre at one end but positioned so that the cavea was turned away from the agora at an angle of nearly 90 degrees

study of the Argive theatre has been published—Ginouvès 1972. A number of bronze voting discs were discovered in the theatre of Elis which are discussed in Baitinger and Eder 2001. The theatre of Messene has recently been restored. The excavations have been published in the interim excavation reports but the building awaits final publication. The theatre of Mieza was rebuilt in Roman times but the excavators have concluded that the building was originally Hellenistic—Koukoubou and Psarra 2011, 225. The agora at Aigai (or Vergina) is currently being excavated and at the moment only the Sanctuary of Eukleia on its western edge has been published in any detail. A good overview of current knowledge of the site's topography can be found in Drogou and Saatsoglou-Paliadelli 2000, 24–30.

285 Petrounakos 2011, 157–163. The dedication is IG IV^2 1, 653. On the boundary stones see here I.1.

286 See fig. 12 in Grandjean and Salviat 2000.

287 Schwandner 2001, 109; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 140–141; Boman 2003, 146.

(see Figure 15).[288] Although both of these examples are found in Epiros, agoras with theatres on them are also known from the Peloponnese. At Mantineia a theatre served as the border of the western edge of the agora, in a very similar arrangement to the situation at Kassope.[289] This also seems to have been the arrangement at Tegea.[290] I have already suggested that the so-called "Sanctuary of Dionysos" at Plataiai, which was lined by a theatre on its southern edge, might actually have been a kind of second agora.[291] Even if it was not, the theatre was still very close to the city's main agora, which was situated immediately to the west of that second square.[292]

Pausanias also describes the odeion on the agora of Patras as a Hellenistic building: he says that it was constructed from the spoils of war when the people of the city, alone of all the Achaians had helped the Aetolians repel the Gauls in the third century BC.[293] The building that Pausanias must have seen is still standing and well known to archaeologists and, although there has been some disagreement about its precise date, there is a consensus that this was a Roman building constructed in the late 1st or early 2nd century AD.[294] Pausanias' story about the building's construction has not received the attention it deserves and should arguably be taken seriously to mean that the Roman period odeion represents a reconstruction of a much older building. The agora that Pausanias saw at Patras was, of course, the forum of the Roman colony founded at the site and too little is known about the Hellenistic topography of the city to be sure that the Hellenistic agora was at the same location. It is, however, not unlikely that the colonists would have taken advantage of existing open space of the agora in planning their new forum and that the odeion had indeed originally been erected on the city's agora. At Hellenistic Butrint, the agora is assumed to have lain beneath the Roman forum, and that square

288 As at Kassope, dated to the third century BC—Andrea 1984, 109.

289 The theatre at Mantineia is fourth century—Fougères 1898, 165–173; Martin 1951, 252; Winter 1987, 239.

290 See Knut Ødegård reporting on recent survey work in *Archaeological Reports* 2006–2007, 23.

291 See here 1.3.

292 Surveys in the southern part of the so-called "Sanctuary of Dionysos" have revealed several anomalies that the surveyors have tentatively interpreted as a terrace connecting the "agora" to the theatre, which would have facilitated passage between the two areas—Konecny, Boyd et al. 2012, 121.

293 Pausanias 7.20.6.

294 Rizakis 1998, *263*, Rizakis 2010a, 137–138 and Di Napoli 2010, 257 and n. 29 for an extensive bibliography. Curiously di Napoli and Rizakis ignore Pausanias' statement about the building's Hellenistic origins and present it as a purely Roman structure.

was located less than 50 m to the east of the theatre.[295] Cities where, in the Hellenistic period, the agora was not located immediately next to the theatre but within a short walking distance of it include Messene, Argos and Megalopolis.

The best known of Classical gymnasia, the Academy and Lyceum at Athens were located within religious sanctuaries, outside the city walls and some distance from the centre.[296] Paul Millett has suggested recently that the philosophers might have chosen these locations for their schools with the explicit purpose of distancing themselves from the agora, a place to which they felt a certain aversion.[297] Sokrates had, of course, spent a lot of time on the Athenian agora haranguing his fellow citizens and following his execution it was only natural for his successors to withdraw from that central public space. Aristotle, however, in his ideal city—where the trading classes were to be confined to a separate commercial agora—wanted to see a gymnasium, for older men, located on the dedicated political and religious agora.[298] In the Hellenistic period, and even more so in Roman times, it did indeed become common for gymnasia to be located within the city centre, often near the agora. For the early Hellenistic period it has been speculated that a complex adjacent to the agora of Mantineia may have been a gymnasium.[299] The western side of the agora of Sikyon was bounded by an enormous gymnasium, constructed on two separate terraces.[300] Unfortunately, as with all of the public buildings excavated at Sikyon, the gymnasium was only dated on the grounds of architectural style.[301] Pausanias states the gymnasium was built by the father of Aratos, Kleinias, which would make it early third century. F.E. Winter has recently argued that

295 On the supposed remains of the Hellenistic agora and its identification as such—Hernandez and Çondi 2008, 278 ff. and esp. 281. On the newly determined second century BC date for the theatre—see ibid. 275–276. For the relationship between the agora and theatre—ibid. fig. 5.

296 Camp 2001, 64 and 149 for a brief consideration of archaeological knowledge of the Academy and Lyceum, respectively.

297 Millett 2007, 22—for more on Plato and Aristotle's dislike of the agora see here 1.1.

298 Aristotle *Politics* 1331a30–1331b4 = Crawford and Whitehead 1983.

299 Fougères 1898, 186.

300 Skalet 1928, 22; Griffin 1982, 19–21; Lolos 2011b, 279–281; Pausanias 2.10.6. A fairly detailed and recent discussion of the building and the problem of dating the two terraces can be found in Emme 2013, 128 ff.

301 Yannis Lolos has recently pointed out that Orlandos, in excavating the agora, rarely kept any pottery so that no stratigraphic assemblages survive which would allow re-evaluation of his proposed dates—Lolos, Gourley et al. 2007, 283.

the architecture of the building is consistent with such a date.[302] It seems therefore that the gymnasium was part of the original design of the agora.

Gymnasia of Hellenistic times also differed from their Classical forerunners in terms of their architectural layout. The Academy and Lyceum seem to have been fairly open, wooded spaces with few buildings and did not conform to a standard architectural type.[303] In the Hellenistic period gymnasia took on a recognisable architectural form, with a complex of rooms arranged around a central *palaestra*.[304] The gymnasium at Sikyon is here a prime example.

1.10 Excursus—the Names Given to Theatre-Like Buildings

At this point it is worth making a slight digression to consider the words that scholars have used to describe the theatre-like buildings found on and around Greek agoras. This type of building illustrates some general methodological problems in labelling ancient buildings and interpreting their function that are relevant for thinking about how we approach other ancient public buildings, a central issue here. The excavators of Kassope do not actually use the word "theatre" for what I have referred to as the theatre on the agora. Instead they call it the "bouleuterion".[305] Hansen and Fischer-Hansen on the other hand argue that this building was the city's "ekklesiasterion".[306] I have considered the "odeion" of Patras here as a building that was in many ways similar to a theatre. We therefore have four different words—theatre, odeion, bouleuterion, ekklesiasterion—all being used to describe rather similar buildings. The use of such labels gives the impression that it is possible to distinguish between different types of theatre-like buildings on the basis of architectural criteria; it also implies that this tells us something meaningful about what these buildings were used for. However, on both counts, these assumptions are misplaced. The confidence with which archaeologists use these names is often rather misleading.

A criterion that is often important in identifying buildings is size. At Kassope, for example, it is because the city is known to have had another theatre elsewhere in the city (much larger than the one on the agora) that other

302 Winter 2006, 122–123.

303 Glass 1988; Delorme 1960.

304 For a recent consideration of the architectural form of Hellenistic gymnasia see Winter 2006, 115 ff.

305 Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 146.

306 Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 66–67.

names have been sought for the latter building. This interpretation, of course, rests on the assumption that an ancient Greek city could only have one theatre. However the building at Kassope is of comparable size to the "theatres" at both Mantineia and Tegea, both labelled as such because they are the only theatre-like buildings known for their respective cities. Hoepfner and Schwander thought that the building on the agora at Kassope was the bouleuterion but a problem here is that it is far larger than bouleuteria identified elsewhere. This led Hansen and Fischer-Hansen to conclude that the building was more likely an ekklesiasterion, a meeting place for the citizen assembly. A problem with this interpretation is that specialised ekklesiasteria were actually rather rare in this period. The word itself—though we would not think so from Hansen and Fischer-Hansen's ready use of it—does not often appear in ancient literary or epigraphic sources.[307] An additional problem is that although the people's assemblies of some cities certainly did gather in venues set aside solely for that purpose, by Hellenistic times most poleis were using the theatre. On first consideration the prospect of identifying an odeion from the archaeological remains might seem better—odeia were indoor theatres covered by a roof. However, this is also true of bouleuteria, which means it is next to impossible to distinguish between the two types of buildings purely on the basis of design.

The second problem with the labelling exercise has to do with what it actually tells us about what the buildings were used for. The name "odeion" refers to a building used for musical performances (often in connection with religious cult), a bouleuterion was for meetings of the town council, an ekklesiasterion for meetings of the people's assembly, and a theatre for performances of tragedies and comedies, as well as, possibly, for assembly meetings. With the exception of theatres then, which are widely accepted as multipurpose, these buildings are thought of as serving a single primary function. Assigning these labels to theatre-like buildings thus implies that we know what that primary function was. As discussed above there are rarely grounds for confidence that a building has been correctly identified with the name that its users had for it. An additional problem is that we know that the ancient Greeks were very

307 Most of the epigraphic evidence comes from Delos where a building by that name is mentioned in no less than 17 inscriptions (ID 354, 372, 373, 400, 402, 403, 439, 442, 459, 1417, 1426, 1497, 1498, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1506). For elsewhere I have only been able to find four attestations: IosPE I^2 24, IGDOlbia 14, IK Kalchedon 16 and Lanckoronski, Städte Pamph. u. Pisid. II 224,184. A word search in the online TLG produced only three results: Dionysios of Halikarnassos 4.38.6 and 10.40.4 and Apollonius Sophistēs *Lexicon Homericum* page 92, line 22.

flexible in what they used their public buildings for. At Corinth the boule is attested as meeting in a temple even though a bouleuterion is also attested.[308] At Athens the council usually met in the bouleuterion on the agora but is known to have come together on special occasions in the Eleusinion, the Phosphorion and the Theseion.[309] For the Roman period, Pausanias describes how the bouleuterion at Elis (not on the agora but in a nearby gymnasium) was being used for the kinds of displays of oratory that would have taken place elsewhere in an odeion.[310] In light of such problems, which could easily be multiplied, Valentina di Napoli has recently argued that we should only use the word "odeion" for buildings that are explicitly attested by that name in ancient sources.[311]

The relevance of this issue here is that it is surely more important to recognise the connection between theatre-like buildings and agoras seen at Kassope, Byllis, Tegea, Mantineia and possibly Patras, than to spend too much time worrying about the fact that modern archaeologists have given these theatre-like buildings different names. Archaeologists need to name the buildings they excavate so that they can be discussed in scholarly literature. Even the most prosaic names can quickly pass into common usage and it is all too easy to forget that the reasons for the original identification were often rather subjective and actually tell us less about what a building was used for than about the assumptions of modern scholars. We shall encounter this issue again when we look at various buildings that archaeologists have labelled "Roman agoras", most famously the "Roman Agora" of Athens.[312]

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308 On the *bouleuterion*—Diodorus Siculus 16.65–66, mentioned in a story set in the time of Timoleon (mid fourth century BC). Plutarch implies in two places that the *boule* met in the Temple of Apollo in 223 BC—*Life of Aratos* 40.2–40.3, *Life of Kleomenes* 19.1.

309 Council meeting in the Eleusinion: first meeting after the mysteries—Andokides I (*On the Mysteries*) 110–116 = Wycherley 1957, ***191***, IG II^2 794 = ***211***, 848 = ***212***, 1072 = ***213***; in the Phosphorion—Agora I 656 + 6355 lines 7–8 = Wycherley 1957, ***121***; in the Theseion IG II^2 1039, lines 2–3 = Wycherley 1957, ***362***.

310 Pausanias 6.23.7. Discussed here at 4.6.

311 Di Napoli 2010, 256.

312 See here 3.5.

1.11 The Different Elements Brought Together—the Agora of Kassope in Epiros

At the beginning of this chapter I discussed the new Hellenistic agoras of Pella, in Macedonia and Demetrias in Thessaly, where the entire agora was surrounded, at the first site by a colonnade, at the second by a wall. In their plans and architecture both of these agoras suggest a concern for the aesthetic image of the square as a whole. I have also discussed the way that at other agoras, monumental stoas became much more common and served, among other things, to give definition to the edges of the open square. For the rest of the chapter I have been concerned with types of buildings and have said little about their impact on the plan of the square as a whole. Most of the older agoras of Greece developed through the piecemeal addition of buildings at irregular intervals, as and when they were felt to be needed. As a result agoras varied greatly in the extent to which buildings were coordinated and in the extent to which order and regularity were imposed. As a contrast to Pella it is worth considering the layout of the Athenian agora at the end of the third century BC. The fairly open, loose arrangement there was much the same as it had been for two hundred years (see Figure 6). The late fifth century South Stoa I still defined most of the southern edge, a row of shops at the rear of the Square Peristyle Building marked the northern boundary and the western side was framed by a row of smaller buildings of various shapes and sizes. Where the eastern edge of the Athenian agora lay is an issue that I shall address in the next chapter.[313] Pella and Athens thus represent extremes on the spectrum of early Hellenistic agora planning. Both were large and important cities. Between these extremes there was great diversity in terms of agora layout; there were also a large number of smaller poleis whose fortunes, for the most part, have escaped the history books. It is useful to finish this chapter by considering one of these smaller cities, where the archaeological evidence is particularly good and where the degree of planning fell between the two extremes of Pella and Athens, a city I have already mentioned in considering some of its buildings, Kassope in Epiros (See Figure 17).[314]

The abandonment of Kassope in 31 BC when the inhabitants were forced to relocate to Octavian's new "victory city", Nikopolis, means that the archaeological remains there offer us a unique snap-shot of an agora layout at that time. The archaeological evidence suggests that not much had changed since the first

313 See here 2.62–.8.

314 A good English summary of the site as a whole can be found in Boman 2003, 145–153.

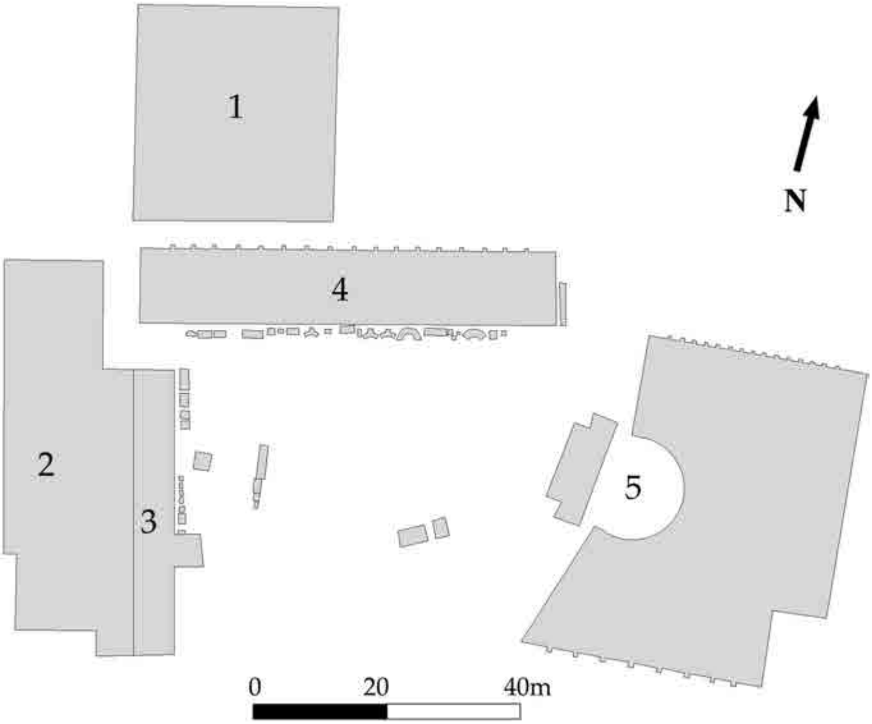

FIGURE 17 *Schematic plan of the agora of Kassope c. 150 BC (1. Katagogeion? 2. Prytaneion and West Stoa, 3. Terrace and bema(?), 4. North Stoa, 5. Ekklesiasterion/theatre)*

half of the Hellenistic period. The well-preserved and well-excavated agora provides a very clear image of many of the tendencies that we have considered here being brought together in a unified plan.[315]

Stoas defined the northern and western edges.[316] The theatre-like building at the eastern edge presumably served a political function, at least some of the time. On the west of the square was a building that has been identified as the prytaneion.[317] It had originally been constructed in the fourth century BC and

315 Jean-Yves Marc, for example points to Kassope as marking a break with what had gone before in this respect—Marc 1998, 9.

316 For the north stoa see here 1.4.

317 On the prytaneion—Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 98–101, 129, 137–139 (with references). Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 35–36 and now, most fully—Emme 2013, 92–94. It is worth noting that this prytaneion is one of only a few examples identified with any degree of confidence in the archaeological record, compared with more than 80 examples attested in the literary sources and the modern assumption that this was a type of build-

consisted of a single square hall; in the third century it was greatly expanded with the addition of several new rooms.[318] The north side of the agora had, as we have seen, been lined by a stoa from the fourth century BC.[319] In the second century BC (thus later than the chronological limits of this chapter) a stoa was erected along the west edge of the square, masking the prytaneion from view.[320] That stoa was fronted by a raised platform or terrace with a central protrusion, which has been suggested as suitable for viewing religious activity on the agora; it is possible that the protrusion might also have served as a public speaker's platform.[321]

Behind the northern stoa a building identified as either a hostel ("*katagogeion*") or market building was constructed in the third century BC.[322] The latter interpretation would certainly fit the trend towards separation of politics and commerce discussed above; it is however also worth stressing that this building was very near the prytaneion, one of the most important political buildings in any Greek city. If the building was a market hall then this would make it one of the earliest fully enclosed market buildings known for any Greek city.[323] It resembles later macella, often thought of as a typically Roman type of building, and predates the earliest known macella in Rome, as do the examples at Thasos and Andros.[324] Jean-Yves Marc has recently argued that these buildings suggest that Greek urbanism may have made a greater contribution to the evolution of this type of building than scholars have previously suspected.[325]

As the Hellenistic period progressed, the edges of the main square at Kassope became lined with statue bases; the central space of the agora at Kassope was kept open and, though flat, was never paved. Provision for religion was

ing that every single one of the more than the thousand attested Classical poleis would have had. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen are right to be sceptical of Stephen Miller's (1978) confident exploration of the architectural form of this type of building—ibid., 37.

318 Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 139.

319 See here 1.4.

320 Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 139–140; Boman 2003, 146 and 150. See here—1.4.

321 On speakers' platforms on Greek agoras in the 2nd century BC and later see here—2.5 and 3.12–3.14.

322 Interpreted as a "hostel" by Dakaris 1952, 360–361. The suggestion that it was actually a market building has been made by Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 127–132.

323 De Ruyt 2000, 185, referring to Gros 1996, 451. The possibility that the original macellum at Andros dates to around the same time has been touched upon here at p. 69.

324 For an overview of the history of the macellum as a building type see de Ruyt 2000, 1983, Andreau 2012 and with a particular focus on the city of Rome and the argument that these were mainly markets for elite consumption of luxury products—Holleran 2012, 159–181.

325 Marc 2012, 232–236.

minimal on the square—there was no circular enclosure and not even a single temple (though strikingly no remains of any temple have yet been found within the entire city![326]). There was, however, a major fourth century BC altar dedicated to the cult of Zeus Soter and possibly to Aphrodite as well.[327] Numerous smaller altars have also been discovered.

On the whole, the impression that the agora of Kassope gives is one of order and commitment to serious civic business. The contrast between the loosely organised ritual centre—which seems a good way to characterise some Archaic agoras—and this agora is readily apparent. In the next chapter we will see that tendencies towards regularisation, definition of edges, and fragmentation of different areas of public space were pushed even further at some cities in the later Hellenistic period.

1.12 Conclusion

Let us now sum up what has been argued in this chapter. In the late Classical period philosophers such Aristotle and Plato paid increasing attention to the question of how cities should be designed, both as communities and as physical places and we have our first evidence for a specialised city planner in the enigmatic person of Hippodamos. In Hellenistic times the tradition of Hippodamos was continued by men such as Deinokrates of Rhodes although the exact contribution of professional city-planners remains hazy. It is clear, however, that the agora continued to occupy a place of central importance in both Greek thought on planning and within the cities themselves.

The conquests of Alexander the Great and the emergence of the kingdoms of the *diadochoi* provided the ideal preconditions for the latest theories of planning to be put into practice as large numbers of new cities were founded. The grid plan, though not new, became standard for new foundations. The agora often seems to have been set aside early in the planning of new cities. A natural consequence of the grid plan is that agoras naturally tended to be square or rectangular in shape. This, in turn, meant that it was much easier to enclose the open space of agoras with stoas, or with a continuous colonnade. Already in the first half of the Hellenistic period we see the first fully enclosed agoras at Pella and Demetrias. The existence of these agoras—one in Macedonia, the other in Thessaly but both in royal Macedonian cities—

326 Remarked on by Schwandner 2001, 109.

327 Boman 2003, 146. *Archaeological Reports* 1984–1985, 37–38. Sielhorst 2015, 31 and 162.

makes it necessary to re-evaluate the contribution of mainland Greece, and of the Macedonian kings in particular, to the history of agora planning. Some of these new foundations also appear to have had more than one agora, although here the archaeological evidence is, at present, unfortunately less substantial. Where cities did have multiple agoras this might be connected with ideas that were current at the time, and which we see expressed in the work of Xenophon and Aristotle, that there should be some separation of commercial, and political space within the polis. There is no evidence, however, for any absolute separation in this, or any period. The significance of separate agoras is an issue to which we shall return.[328]

The most striking transformation seen at agoras in older Greek poleis is the introduction of truly monumental stoas. Stoas had already been erected on agoras in the Classical period but many of these new buildings far exceeded earlier examples in terms of size. The stoas on the northern sides of the agoras of Messene and Megalopolis, and the South Stoa at Corinth were truly colossal structures. The number of stoas erected on agoras in this period is also remarkable. They were literally springing up everywhere from the Peloponnese to Epiros, from the northern Aegean to the Cyclades. Sometimes stoas were used to achieve complete, or near complete enclosure of the agora, as at Naxos, but it was more usual for an agora to receive just one or two stoas. These served to give definition to the edges of the square and could accommodate a range of functions.

Of the other types of buildings seen on agoras at this time, political buildings were by far the most ubiquitous and arguably the most important. This continued the well-established tradition of the Classical period for the agora to be the administrative heart of the polis. Bouleuteria and magisterial offices are all fairly common. For the most part these buildings were fairly unpretentious although there are some indications of a growing concern for the image that these buildings presented to the open square: at Athens the council house received a new porch; at Thasos, the new bouleuterion (if identified correctly) was only clad with marble on the side facing the square. I have also discussed the evidence for fountain houses on agoras, which are sometimes considered by modern scholars to be a hallmark of a Greek agora. An important conclusion drawn here is that they are actually only attested at a few cities and were therefore clearly not essential. With respect to religious buildings we see tremendous variation. Certain deities, particularly Zeus and Hermes, were fairly common on agoras; temples, because of the Greek practice of sacrificing in the direc-

328 See 3.5 and 3.6.

tion of the rising sun, tended to be located either on the west side of a square or in the open space; older Greek cities maintained an Archaic connection between their agora and religion by preserving, or renovating the mysterious round structures that date back to that period. Some newer agoras, on the other hand, such as Pella or Kassope completely lacked temples, suggesting a changing conception of what an agora was.

The disappearance of religion from some agoras can be linked to a more general tendency toward fragmentation of public space in the polis at this time. Specialised buildings and areas were now being set aside for various functions that had once been clustered on the agora. At Kassope we see, perhaps, one of the earliest specialised market buildings. Purpose built theatres became fairly common in Hellenistic times. Often, and probably preserving the Archaic and Classical connection that Frank Kolb has argued existed between "Agora und Theater", theatres were located in close proximity to, or even on, the agora. Another type of specialised public building that became a common feature of Greek poleis in the Hellenistic period was the gymnasium. Our knowledge of Classical gymnasia is fairly poor but those that are well attested, at Athens, were located outside the city walls. Here, we see something of a reversal of the trend towards fragmentation and separation of different areas of public space—in the Hellenistic period, in some cities gymnasia were erected within the civic centre, near the agora or, as at Sikyon, even on it. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that our knowledge of the relation of the agora to the overall city plan is for most sites rather patchy.

It is certainly possible to identify certain trends in this period in the way that agoras were designed—tendencies toward enclosure, monumentality and the separation of space for commercial and political purposes. However a comparison of different agoras in this period also reveals much diversity—from the enormous and fully enclosed peristyle agora at Pella, to the still fairly disorganised Athenian agora, to the neatly planned, yet small and intimate agora of Kassope. Moving into the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, as we shall now see, much of this diversity is ironed out but it never disappears completely.

CHAPTER 2

The Late Hellenistic Period. 197 BC–31 BC

2.1 Introduction to the Period

In many ways what I have chosen to call the late Hellenistic period could also be thought of as the early Roman period in Greek history—the period when Greece was gradually brought within the orbit of the emerging superpower to the west.[1] Following his victory over the Macedonians at Kynoskephalai in 197, Flamininus was quick to reassure the Greeks of Rome's good intentions towards them. At the Isthmian Games of 196 he made his famous proclamation of Greek freedom.[2] Ironically this date has been seen by some as a landmark in the disappearance of that freedom as Greece began to come increasingly under Roman control.[3] At this point the three main Hellenistic kingdoms were all still intact. Other kingdoms had also now sprung up, either on the fringes of the Greek world, or in areas that had broken away from the territories of the older dynasties. Most important and powerful of these was Pergamon, which was enjoying a privileged position in the Greek world as ally of Rome. The poleis of Greece remained inextricably caught up in the fortunes of these kingdoms, turning to them for help in solving local quarrels and being forced to choose sides in the struggles between them. Rome entered the Greek world as a power on a par with these kingdoms in terms of military strength. As Eric Gruen has shown, Rome's early relationship with the poleis conformed to patterns that the cities had developed in their dealings with the kings.[4] Flamininus' proclamation itself is reminiscent of similar pronouncements made by the diadochoi a century earlier.[5] At the beginning of the century it must have been impossible to predict that Rome would from now on be the dominant power in the Greek world.

1 Again, it is worth stressing that this is not the place for a proper narrative history of the period. Good overviews of the main developments can be found in the works cited in Ch 1. n. 1 above. More detailed treatments, with particular emphasis on the incorporation of Greece into the Roman Empire are provided by Gruen 1984 (for the first half of the period) and Kallet-Marx 1995 (taking up where Gruen leaves off).

2 Plutarch *Life of Flamininus* 12.8, Polybios 18.46.5, Livy 33.32.

3 Most notably by Larsen 1935. For the terms imposed on Macedon at this time see Polybios 18.19–27.

4 Gruen 1984 *passim*.

5 See Dmitriev 2011, 112–144.

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It was a long time, however, before Roman hegemony brought stability to the area. In 191 Antiochos III was in Greece fighting as ally of the Aetolian league against Rome; he was soon driven out. The conflict between Rome and Macedonia too had merely been postponed. In 168 BC the last Macedonian king, Perseus was decisively defeated by the legions of Aemilius Paullus at Pydna. Some scholars have seen Pydna as more significant than Kynoskephalai as a watershed in Rome's curtailment of Greek freedom.[6] The Romans now weakened Macedonia by dividing it into four separate republics but they did not make it a province.[7] It is also at this time that Rome, to secure the compliance of the Greeks, took a thousand leading citizens of the Achaian League back to Italy as hostage. Most famous among them was the man whose writings constitute our best source for the period, Polybios. Within two decades there was a Macedonian uprising against Rome led by a certain Andriskos, who claimed to be the son of Perseus. The revolt (150–148 BC) ended with the crushing defeat of Macedonia by the general Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus. In the meantime relations between Rome and the Achaian League had also worsened. Although the precipitating causes are unclear, in 146 BC war also broke out between these two powers.[8] The swift result was that Lucius Mummius defeated the Achaian League and ruthlessly sacked the ancient city of Corinth. It is generally assumed that Macedonia was annexed as a province following Metellus' victory, with Thessalonikē as the capital.[9] The rest of mainland Greece did not become a Roman province until much later.[10] Whatever their technical status, however, both regions were from now on firmly under Roman control. That the events of the mid second century were seen as a decisive moment in the subjugation of Greece is signified by the fact that when the rest of Greece

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6 See Larsen 1935 for references. Larsen points out that this was Polybios' opinion, citing 1.5, 2.7 and 3.1 as the relevant passages. This was, however, precisely the interpretation that Larsen himself was arguing against. Polybios, our best contemporary source for these years, as Larsen points out, is responsible for the vision of Greece as a Roman subject post–168 BC.

7 Livy 45.17–18, 45.29.1–10, 45.32.1–2; Diodorus Siculus 31.8.1, 38.1.6–9.

8 See McGing 2003, 78 for the main interpretations that have been advanced, with references.

9 McGing 2003, 81. Note, however, that Robert Morstein Kallet-Marx (1995, 57–96) has argued that "provincial" here does not actually mean that the area was annexed as Roman territory but that the country was merely assigned as a sphere of magisterial influence. On Thessalonikē as the capital see Cicero For Plancius 41. There is also numismatic and other evidence—Papagiannopoulos 1982, 36–42.

10 For the creation of the provinces of Achaia and Epiros see Alcock 1993, 14. For Greece's status in the interim period see McGing 2003, 80–81.

later did become a province, the Romans called it Achaia because it was by victory over the Achaians that it had been reduced.[11]

From this point on Roman rule did at least bring an end to the constant infighting between the poleis that had characterised Greek history since time immemorial. It did not, however, immediately bring peace. In the early first century BC Greece became caught up in the so-called Mithridatic Wars, with most of the poleis there unwisely siding with the king of Pontus against Rome. Many were punished for their decision, most notably Athens, with Sulla's sack of the city in 86 BC.[12] After this Greece soon became the major arena for the sequence of bloody civil wars that tore the Republic apart. All of the decisive battles in these internecine conflicts took place on Greek soil. Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsalos in Thessaly in 48 BC, Antony and Octavian had their victory over Brutus and Cassius at Philippi in 42 BC, and the two erstwhile allies had their (nearly) final showdown in the Bay of Actium in Epiros in 31 BC. The victorious Octavian established the Principate, took the title of Augustus and Rome became an Empire. The frequent presence of these large armies on Greek soil must have placed an enormous strain on the economies of the poleis to say nothing of the actual destruction resulting from fighting.[13]

The extent to which Rome in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC pursued a deliberate policy of interfering in the government of the Greek poleis to encourage the rise of oligarchy is an issue that has been much debated but not conclusively resolved. Constitutions certainly do appear generally to have shifted toward oligarchy and in the epigraphic record it is possible to trace the rise in prestige and status, and presumably also power, of a class of local wealthy benefactors. Louis Robert coined the term "*la basse époque hellénistique*" to describe this period and distinguish it from the early Hellenistic, or "*haute époque hellénistique*".[14] For him the latter period was characterised by the "rule of the notables", well-to-do members of the polis community who monopolised positions of power and influence and secured the good will of the community through their bene-

11 As Pausanias recognized—7.16.6. Pausanias, though his account clearly contains many mistakes is actually our most detailed source for the terms that Mummius imposed on the defeated Achaians: the general was initially very harsh, forbidding the right to the existence of the League but then relenting and restoring certain rights—Pausanias 7.6.9–10. For a discussion of Pausanias' usefulness in here see Kallet-Marx 1995, 57–96.

12 On which see main text here.

13 On which see Rostovtzeff 1998 [1957], 9; Alcock 1993, 14 and n. 16 for references.

14 Van Nijf and Alston 2010. The terms have been highly influential in French scholarship. As Alston and van Nijf have pointed out they have been central to the work of such important scholars as Philippe Gauthier and Paul Veyne.

factions. Similar transformations can be observed across the Greek world and must therefore be explained as, to some extent the product of factors *within* Greek society, but some degree of Roman encouragement does seem likely.

The economic fortunes of the poleis at this time have also been debated recently among archaeologists. Several literary sources, from the second century BC through to the first century AD, describe Greece as suffering economic decline and depopulation.[15] Susan Alcock and John Bintliff have connected this evidence with archaeological survey data and come to very different conclusions. Alcock has argued that these sources have, too often, been taken literally, that the "decline of Greece" was a popular literary trope and that such passages greatly exaggerate decline.[16] Bintliff argues precisely the opposite—that these sources have too often been thought of as literary tropes whereas they actually reflect the reality of decline as seen in the archaeological evidence.[17] The disagreement largely centres on whether there really was depopulation in Greece at this time—Alcock argues that larger settlements grew at the expense of smaller ones with concomitant movements of people, Bintliff that even the larger poleis shrank in size. The disagreement, however, is not so much about whether the economic situation in Greece was bad, but rather about how bad it was. It is clear enough that these were not prosperous times for the country. Rizakis has recently summarised how various factors in the second half of the 2nd century and first half of the 1st combined to create what he calls a "deep recession" in the Peloponnese: the destabilisation of cities defeated by Rome, abolition of land holding privileges of the Achaians, the loss of Corinth as an international commercial centre, land abandonment and explosion in piracy, taxes and appropriation of resources by armies; increasingly in the 1st century BC Roman and Italian merchants, usually referred to in modern literature as "*negotiatores*" settled in Greek cities but their activities did not provide enough of a boost to the economy to offset these other problems and indeed the unscrupulous activities of some of them, who operated as loan sharks, probably exacerbated the malaise.[18]

It is hardly surprising that in such hard times the history of urban planning was less eventful than in the early Hellenistic period. There were no new city foundations in this period where new ideas in city or agora planning could be

15 E.g. Polybios 36.17.5–9. Strabo 8.8.1 (of Megalopolis), Plutarch *The Oracles at Delphi. Moralia* 413F–414A. Dio Chrysostom 33.25. Cicero *Pro Flacco*. Horace *Epistles* 2.2.81–86; Ovid *Metamorphosis* 15.430. Seneca *Epistles* 1.3 (91).10.

16 Alcock 1993, 24 ff.

17 Bintliff 2008.

18 Rizakis 2010b, 3–5.

put into practice. For most of the older poleis there is also less evidence for changes in the layout of the agora than for the preceding century and a half. Probably this can partly be explained by a lack of sensitivity in archaeological dating at these sites. Archaeologists like to place the changes they observe in a plausible historical context and transformations that are hard to date are therefore readily ascribed to particular periods. The early Principate, as we shall see in the next chapter, witnessed a considerable amount of building work in the Greek poleis and although this phenomenon was certainly real it is possible that some projects have been dated to then more by wishful thinking than by hard evidence. It is therefore possible that some "Augustan" building work might actually have occurred earlier, in the first century BC or, for that matter, that some "late third century" projects really belong to the second. However, for the most part, the scarcity of evidence must be real enough, a reflection of troubled times when investment in architecture was not a priority.

Some of the best evidence for change to the built environment actually has to do with damage and destruction wrought by the Romans. At Eretria the classical East Stoa was destroyed in 198 BC;[19] at Kassope where, as we have seen, in the first half of the second century a new stoa was built on the agora, not long thereafter, in 167 BC, the prytaneion to the rear of that building was destroyed, almost certainly by the Romans as punishment for the city's association with Macedonia;[20] at Corinth some evidence of damage to the so-called "North Stoa", north of Temple Hill, has been associated by the excavators with Mummius' assault on the city.[21] Finally Sulla's attack on Athens damaged several buildings in the agora, including venerable old structures like the Stoa Basileios and the

19 Although it was later rebuilt—Krause 1982, 152–154.

20 This destruction is connected by Schwander (2001, 112) with the Kassopeans allying themselves with the neighbouring Molossians, who supported Macedonian king Perseus against Rome. Following his defeat at Pydna in 168 there was a terrible massacre and the remaining local population was sold into slavery—Polybios 30.15; Strabo 7.7.3; Livy 45.34; Pliny *Natural History* 4,39; Plutarch *Life of Aemilius Paulus* 29.

21 Gebhard and Dickie 2003, 262 n. 4. (citing de Waele 1931, 408–411). Note that the overall extent of the destruction at Corinth is debatable. Several literary sources talk of the city being razed to its foundations. Gebhard and Dickie argue (in tune with Alcock's argument about sources that purport to describe widespread decline in Greece) that we should allow for a fair amount of hyperbole here and for the defective memories of certain authors. They discuss the relevant passages and consider the archaeological evidence for activity at the site in the years intervening between the destruction and the foundation of the Roman colony. Of course, whether or not the north stoa stood anywhere near the agora depends on the interpretation of where the agora was—on which see 1.1; whether Mummius deliberately targeted the central area for destruction is unclear.

Tholos; the new "South Square", which we shall see was constructed in the mid second century BC was particularly badly affected.[22] When Plutarch tells us that the Kerameikos was filled with blood it is also tempting to think that he is using the word, in the sense that several Roman authors do, to mean or at least include, the agora.[23] There is no direct evidence that the Romans specifically targeted buildings in agoras for destruction but it is possible that they would have in order to make an example of the vanquished foe; literary sources do show that the agora or forum was often the location where they would publicly execute their defeated enemies.[24] In any case, the fact that for most of Greece there is more evidence for destruction than construction speaks volumes.

A tantalising glimpse of the way that the upheavals of the time might have more subtly affected the fortunes of the less powerful cities of Greece has been revealed recently by the excavations of the agora at the site of Kastro, Kallithea in Thessaly. Destruction layers in public buildings on the square and a cessation of ceramic evidence after the late 3rd/early 2nd century BC suggests that the agora ceased to be used for official civic purposes, while habitation certainly continued in the eastern part of the settlement. 2nd century coin finds on the square, including a Roman bronze *as* dated to the period 206–195 BC—precisely the period when Flamininus' armies were active in Greece—suggest the presence of people on the square who were possibly using it in a less formal, perhaps more occasional manner. The excavators persuasively suggest that what we see here is a small settlement whose freedoms and political circumstances were reduced at the expense of larger towns in the region, and as a result no longer needed its public institutions and the buildings that housed them and allowed them to pass into disrepair.[25]

22 On the damage to the city see Hoff 1997; for the agora buildings see especially pp. 38–41 and the table on p. 42; Camp 1986, 184–185. Camp notes that there is no evidence for the systematic destruction of buildings within the city as there was at Piraeus. On damage to buildings in the agora see also—Camp 1986, 181. On damage to the South Square in particular see Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 71.

23 Plutarch's account is the most vivid in the ancient sources—*Life of Sulla* 14.3–6. Sulla and his men also removed unknown quantities of statuary and architecture from the city to take back to Rome as booty. It is known for instance that they took columns from the Olympeion—Mitchell 1987, 358; Pliny *Natural History* 36.45. It is impossible to assess the impact of this looting on the monuments of the agora but it is not unlikely that they would have also taken statues from there.

24 E.g. Dionysios of Halicarnassos 5.43.2, 6.30.1; on the Forum Romanum itself as a place for executions see Hinard 1987.

25 Haagsma, Karapanou et al. 2011, 207.

The degree to which political fortunes could affect the level of public building work in a polis is well illustrated by three sites that have produced good evidence for re-development of the agora in this period: Messene, Athens and Thasos. Our knowledge of Messenian history for late third/early second century BC is patchy but these seem to have been fairly troubled times as the city became caught up in power struggles between greater powers such as the Achaian League, Sparta, the Macedonians and Rome.[26] At some point in those decades, however, the situation must have stabilised enough to allow the city to embark on an ambitious architectural project—the creation of the Asklepieion complex to the south of the old agora, which I shall argue here functioned as a second agora.[27]

Slightly later, around the middle of the second century BC, Athens experienced a veritable building boom. The city was now free from the intermittent struggles with Macedonia that had plagued it in the third century, was reaping the economic benefits of the recent acquisition of Delos and enjoying good relations simultaneously with most of the major Mediterranean powers.[28] Under these circumstances Athens reasserted its place as the cultural and educational centre of the Greek world and attracted visits and benefactions from various kings and princes. Athens' renewed prestige is reflected in several major building projects in the city with the agora being a particular focus of attention.

Thasos' fortunes peaked slightly later. Throughout the second century the city enjoyed good relations with Rome and seems to have prospered but it was the shrewd decision, almost unique in the Greek world, to maintain that allegiance during the Mithridatic Wars that ensured prosperity continued into the first century.[29] Thasos was rewarded with land on the mainland and seems to have enjoyed something of a privileged position in the north Aegean at this time. Good relations with Rome are attested by letters from eminent Romans, which were inscribed on a public building in the agora.[30] Although there is no evidence for direct Roman benefactions the city prospered as a result of Roman favour and was able to carry out some major building works in the

26 Luraghi 2008a, 260 discusses what we know of the period with references to previous discussions.

27 The discussion surrounding the date of the project has revolved largely around trying to determine when historical circumstances would have allowed a brief period of prosperity. The issue is considered briefly here at 2.2.

28 Habicht 1997 Chs. 8–12.

29 Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 5 ff. Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 31–32.

30 Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, *174* (a senatus consultum issued under Sulla), *175* (a letter from Dolabella), *179* (a letter from the Emperor Claudius), *184* (a letter from Nero).

civic centre and especially on the agora. The agoras at each of these three sites have been well excavated and documented, making it possible to trace the transformations in the second half of the Hellenistic period in some detail.

Instead of the thematic approach taken in the first chapter I will here consider Messene (2.2), Athens (2.3, 2.4 and 2.6–2.8) and Thasos (2.9 and 2.10) as case studies, widening the focus only in section 2.5 to consider the important phenomenon of the introduction of speakers' platforms on Greek agoras at this time. The evidence from three sites clearly does not justify talk of trends, but there are certainly striking similarities in the way that all three developed. The tendency at all three was towards even greater enclosure, monumentality and separation of functions than in the preceding period. As we shall see in the next chapter these tendencies became both yet more pronounced and yet more widespread under the early Empire. Looking at these sites allows us to bridge the gap in ancient thought on agora planning between the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods by showing us what could be achieved in cities that had both the resources and the opportunity to engage in major building projects.

I shall have most to say about the Athenian agora because my interpretation of developments there is substantially different from that of previous scholars. I make the case that the redevelopment of the main agora needs to be interpreted in light of what we know of redevelopments in the adjacent area to the east. My argument is that this area was once a part of the Classical agora and that it was at this time, through the erection of the Stoa of Attalos, that this larger area was cut in two creating a more civic space to the west, a more commercial one to the east. I also argue that while benefactions by Hellenistic kings, such as Attalos II, certainly played a big role in transforming the civic centre of Athens, it is difficult to disentangle Hellenistic and Roman influence on the city at this time and important to take account of the latter. In that regard, while the impact of colossal stoas is readily apparent, it is equally important to consider a much more modest building but one which arguably had as great an impact on the functioning of the square, the *bema*, or speaker's platform that was erected in front of the Stoa of Attalos. The platform is well known but it has typically been considered an isolated example. There is, however, good evidence that bemata became fairly common on agoras in this period and were the direct result of Roman influence. The Athenian bema therefore makes it necessary to interrupt the discussion of that city, to broaden our focus to look at this evidence. The argument is made that these platforms represent what is arguably the most dramatic transformation of the Greek agora seen in the entire six centuries surveyed in this book, a transformation towards a more Roman way of using public space. The

transformation was long lasting; bemata continued to be a common feature of agoras in Imperial times, as we shall see in the next chapter. Because the evidence for speakers' platforms is mainly literary I will address the question of why more of them have not been discovered archaeologically. In the final section (2.10), after discussing more general developments at Thasos, I will make the case that a monument on the agora there, which has previously been taken to be a statue base, might also actually have been a speaker's platform.

2.2 Messene and the Division of Commercial and Political Space

In the last chapter I discussed some of the buildings that were located on the Messenian agora in the early Hellenistic period.[31] The Arsinoe Fountain and an adjacent stoa defined the northern edge. Eventually the other edges were probably also lined with stoas but the excavation of the site is still in progress and the chronology is therefore not completely clear. In the enormous open space stood various temples, the *thesauros* and the town's council house, or bouleion. Sometime between the late third and mid second century BC (I discuss the issue of dating below) a peristyle complex was erected immediately to the south of the agora. When first excavated the complex was identified as the city's agora.[32] The discovery of certain important inscriptions, and then of a large Doric temple taking up a large part of its central open space, showed that the complex was in fact the Asklepieion described by Pausanias.[33] The agora was then discovered to be the far larger area of open space that I have discussed here. Asklepios was most often worshipped as a healing god and his sanctuaries elsewhere are usually suitably equipped with incubation rooms where the sick could sleep and expect to be visited in their dreams by the god. Finds of clay body parts, in association with an older temple beneath the complex, show that at Messene too, Asklepios had once been a healing deity.[34]

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31 See 1.4, 1.6, 1.7 and 1.8.

32 E.g. Vanderpool 1960, 270 refers to Orlandos' excavation in the "Agora of Messene". See also any of the interim excavation reports published before that time in *Praktika*.

33 The Asklepieion was first correctly identified by Despinis 1966 on the basis of IG V I 1462. See also Orlandos 1971 and Orlandos 1973.

34 On the body parts—Themelis 2003a, 84. The latest of the body parts have been dated to the second quarter of the fourth century BC—Luraghi 2008a, 280. On the Classical temple Themelis 2003a, 64.

There was thus continuity of the god worshipped on the spot from Classical times through to the Imperial period when Pausanias visited the complex.[35] Immediately to the south of the Asklepieion was a bathhouse, constructed in the fourth century BC, which may well originally have played some role in the healing of patients in the sanctuary.[36] The new Hellenistic complex, however, was something very different. Pausanias tells us that the Messenians saw Asklepios as a citizen and the complex seems more suited to a civic god who had little to do with medicine.[37] Several of the rooms incorporated behind the central peristyle seem to have had a political or administrative function and it has long been thought that the complex served as the centre of government. If this interpretation is correct the Asklepieion was, in effect, a dedicated political agora separate from, yet adjacent to, the more commercial agora to the north. It is for this reason that it is worth considering here.

The Asklepieion (see Figure 18) consisted of a nearly square central court of around 2,200 m^2, surrounded by a continuous two-aisled peristyle colonnade (if the colonnade was originally part of the building—see below). Facing out onto the open square, there were 23 columns on the north and south sides and 21 on the east and west;[38] the internal colonnade consisted of 14 by 13 columns. More than a quarter of the open space was taken up by a Doric temple and its altar.[39]

35 Cf Alcock 2002, 168: "[The complex] received that particular name [Asklepieion] only in early Imperial times; before that the precinct was dedicated to the region's first queen and eponymous heroine, Messene, whose temple stood in its open middle". Her interpretation presumably arises from the fact that scholars once mistakenly thought that the central temple was dedicated to Messene (see here main text 2.2). Even then, however, to my knowledge nobody ever disputed that the complex as a whole had always been dedicated to Asklepios.

36 Themelis 2003a, 90–91. On the excavations of the bathhouse—Themelis 1989, 77–78.

37 Pausanias 2.36.7. On Asklepios' place in the genealogy of Messenian mythology see Pausanias 4.3.1. The significance of Pausanias' reference to Asklepios as a Messenian citizen is pointed out by Themelis 2003a, 64 (though the passage is incorrectly cited there as 4.36.7). Other modern scholars who regard the Messenian Asklepios as a civic rather than a healing god include—Orlandos 1976, 64, 38; Felten 1983, 82–93. Nino Luraghi has recently challenged this viewpoint (see here—n. 73). It is worth noting, however, that even Luraghi admits that the god was seen differently at Messene and points out the significance in this respect of his statue being accompanied by statues of his sons rather than his wife Hygeia—Luraghi 2008a, 283.

38 Themelis 2003a, 58.

39 Themelis 2003a, 64–67. On the architecture of the temple see Sioumpara 2006.

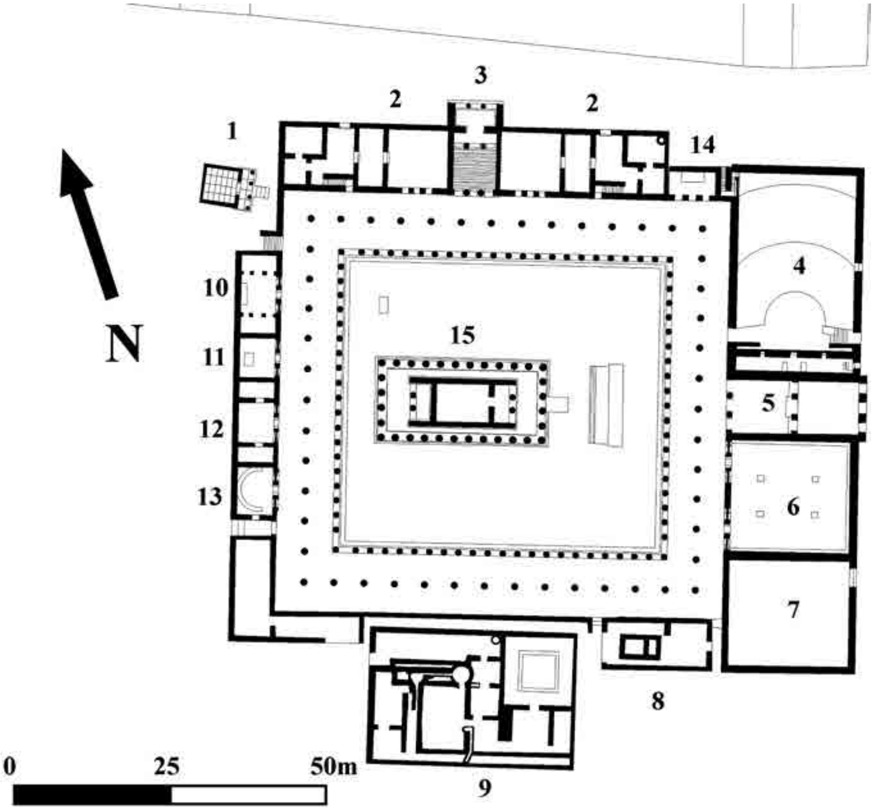

FIGURE 18 *Map of the Messenian Asklepieion (1. Temple of Artemis Orthia, 2. Sebasteion, 3. North Propylon, 4. Ekklesiasterion, 5. East Propylon, 6. Bouleuterion, 7. Archive, 8. Tomb of Damophon?, 9. Bathhouse, 10. Oikos* K *(of Artemis), 11. Oikos* M *(of Tyche), 12. Oikos* N *(of Epaminondas, Thebes and Herakles), 13. Oikos* Ξ *(of Apollo and the Muses), 14. Fountain, 15. Temple of Asklepios)*

The temple was centrally located on the east-west axis of the space.[40] The identification of the central temple has changed several times since its discovery. The most obvious interpretation, of course, was that it was the Temple of Asklepios. However, for a long time it was thought to have been the temple of the personified goddess Messene seen by Pausanias.[41] This suggestion was actually made after the complex as a whole had been correctly identified

40 Axiality is often thought of as more characteristic of Roman than Greek architecture but as Fikgret Yegül points out (Yegül 1991, 345), thinking in terms of such rigid oppositions is not particularly helpful in understanding the relationship between the two architectures.

41 Pausanias, 4.31.11. This interpretation can be found in quite recent publications e.g. Themelis 2003a, 64.

as the Asklepieion and was an hypothesis with definite attractions: Messene and Asklepios were related in the mythology of the city so the complex would have been a suitable place for her cult; the Temple of Messene had not been discovered elsewhere and Pausanias' description was vague enough to think it could have been within the Asklepieion. As to where Asklepios himself was worshipped, he was assigned a fairly modest place in the small "*Oikos* H" in the northeast corner of the building.[42] The recent discovery of the Temple of Messene on the agora, discussed in Chapter One, has put paid to this theory and it is now clear that the central Doric temple in the Asklepieion was the Temple of Asklepios after all.[43]

The building behind the northern wing of the peristyle was completely rebuilt in the Roman period as a Sebasteion, making it impossible to say what this part of the complex looked like or was used for in its original Hellenistic state.[44] The Sebasteion was divided in two by a wide staircase leading up and out of the complex towards the agora and it seems likely there had always been an entrance there. The only room on the northern side that was part of the original design of the complex is the small *oikos* H, which contained a fountain and was, as mentioned, once thought to have been the locus of the cult of Asklepios.[45] At the rear of the western wing of the peristyle were a series of "oikoi" where Pausanias saw various statues of gods and heroes.[46] There has been some disagreement as to which rooms were for which deity or deities but a plausible reconstruction distributes them from north to south as follows: Artemis (K), Tyche (M), Epaminondas, Thebes and Herakles (somehow accommodated in the central space of N and its two side aisles), and finally Apollo and the Muses (all in Oikos Ξ).[47] There was also a small propylon on

42 *Oikos* H—Themelis 2003a, 78.

43 On the temple now identified as dedicated to Messene see 1.8.

44 Themelis 2003a, 79. See here 3.10.

45 The fountain is described briefly by Hayashida, Yoshitake et al. 2013.

46 Pausanias 4.31.10; Themelis 2003a, 74–78. A full architectural study of these *oikoi* has been published by Chlepa 2001.

47 This is the sequence in Themelis 2003a, 63 and fig. 40 and Chlepa 2001, 75. For a recent discussion of how the statues should be assigned see Luraghi 2008a, 278–279 and notes. Cf Cain 1995, 125 and Müth 2007, 195–197. The identification of the Oikos of Artemis is completely certain because several inscriptions relating to the cult were discovered there *in situ*. Alternatives to the sequence here are: (i) that Apollo should be placed in *oikos* N, a building with the same design as the temple of his sister, Artemis—Riethmüller 2005, vol. 2, 163–165 (ii) that Herakles was in the same *oikos* as the muses—Torelli 1998. Luraghi (ibid. n. 107) argues that it is most likely that Epaminondas occupied the central space of *oikos* N because his great importance at Messene would demand a presti-

this side. The Oikos of Artemis replaced the Classical temple of Artemis Orthia just to the northwest of it and outside the limits of the Asklepieion.[48] This older temple presumably now became redundant.

Pausanias attributes most of the sculptures in these oikoi to Damophon of Messene, one of the Hellenistic artists whose career we know most about, largely thanks to Pausanias.[49] Fragments of several of these statues were discovered on the excavation.[50] The fact that the majority of them were the work of a single sculptor suggests that the *oikoi* were custom-built to house them. The connection between Damophon and the complex is underlined by the discovery of a column inscribed with seven proxeny decrees in honour of the artist immediately to the south of the complex, in association with a heroic tomb, which may well have been his.[51] The identity of the heroes and gods suggests that the group was quite deliberately selected to serve as a focal point of local identity:[52] Tyche was the goddess of the fortune of the city,[53] the vic-

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gious location for his statue. He acknowledges that this interpretation upsets Pausanias' sequence.

48 See here 1.8. That temple apparently was not destroyed and remained standing—Themelis 1994b, 107. The two temples were dedicated to different aspects of Artemis—the old to Artemis Ortheia, the new to Artemis Phosphoros. Perhaps their proximity to each other was intended to conflate the two cults.

49 Pausanias 4.31.10: "The stone statues are the work of Damophon" i.e. all of them except that of Epaminondas, which Pausanias tells us (ibid.) was made, unusually, of iron. On Damophon and what we know of him see n. 80.

50 Themelis 1996.

51 The column is discussed together with the tomb, Heroon Δ, by Themelis 2003a, 91–93 and Themelis 2003b, 40–46. Five of the seven decrees on the column have been published: from Lykosoura (SEG XLI, 332) Kythnos (Themelis 1998b; SEG XLIX 423), Kephallenia (IG IX^2 1.4.1583 = SEG LI 467) Leukas (IG IX^2 1.4, 1475 = SEG LI 466) and Oiantheia (Themelis 2003d). The other two are from Melos and Gerenia and are unpublished. The identification of the tomb as Damophon's has been contested by Boehringer 2001, 278 and Fröhlich 2007, 208–210. The suggestion is dismissed as "unwahrscheinlich" by Dimitris Damaskos: *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum II*. ed. J.-Ch. Balty, Los Angeles, Getty Publications, 2004, 157. He makes no argument to support this statement and is presumably influenced by Boehringer. Luraghi (2008a, 283) also seems to lean towards skepticism regarding the identification.

52 As stressed by Luraghi 2008a, 277 ff.

53 The rise of the personified Tyche as the protector goddess of the city is a widespread and well known Hellenistic phenomenon—Green 1990, 396 ff. Most famous is the Tyche of Antioch, know from several reproductions—see Pollitt 1986, 3 ff., Smith 1991, 76–77. In statues and on coins the goddess was usually portrayed wearing a crenelated city wall as a crown. The Messene Tyche is depicted this way on coins from this period—Luraghi

tory of Epaminondas and his Theban army over the Spartans had led to the city's foundation, and Asklepios himself was, as mentioned above, a "civic god" at Messene. Of all the deities in the western wing, only Artemis is known for certain to have been the object of cult.[54] An altar stood in the open space opposite her oikos,[55] eleven statue bases connected with the cult were found *in situ* within the room, and the *oikos* is specifically referred to as a "*naos*" in a first century AD inscription.[56] This has led Petros Themelis to conclude that the other statues were not objects of veneration.[57] He sees them purely as a focus for and expression of local identity; Eleni-Anna Chlepa compares the row of rooms to a museum.[58] There is no reason, however, to see an intention to create a coherent sculptural programme to express Messenian identity and religious veneration of these statues as mutually exclusive interpretations. If any significance can be drawn from the terminology that Pausanias uses to refer to the statues it may be significant that he calls them "*agalmata*", a word that usually in Greek culture, and almost always in Pausanias, refers to a cult statue.[59] This is an important point to bear in mind when we consider, in a moment, the integration of these *oikoi* into the complex as a whole.

It is behind the colonnade on the east side that the supposed political buildings have been identified. The northernmost was a roofed theatre that the exca-

2008a, 281, n. 121; on which see also T.G. Ganschow "Messene". *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Volume 6, Zurich: Artemis.

54 The cult was one of the most important of the city—see Themelis 1994b, Piolot 2005, 123–125, Luraghi 2008a, 281 ff.

55 Themelis 2003a, 75.

56 Luraghi 2008a, 279 n. 110. The inscription (SEG XXIII 208) dates to 42 AD. See also Deshours 2004, 118–120.

57 Themelis 2003a, 78: "The function of *Oikos* H was not strictly cultic. This was also true of all the *oikoi* on the west side of the Asklepieion".

58 Chlepa 2001, 100.

59 Pausanias 4.31.10. This is not to imply that the various ancient Greek words for statue should be thought of as corresponding strictly to different categories of statue. Some scholars have assumed that to be the case—e.g. Welsh 1904–1905, Mattusch 1988, 100 and perhaps most extremely Schnapp 1994. Bert Smith is surely right to argue that *all* statues could evoke a supernatural response in the ancient Greeks—Smith 2007, 87. The word *agalma* was not used exclusively for religious statues and could describe statues of men, especially in Roman times—Stewart 2003, 25, Ma 2013, 2. However, it often did imply a religious significance (see Price 1984, 178) and Pausanias, certainly, uses the word fairly consistently for statues of the gods—Pritchett 1998, 205–213. Even if these statues were not strictly the focus of cult we should probably, therefore, think of them as carrying something of a sacred aura.

vators have called the "ekklesiasterion", thought to be where the civic assembly of the city met.[60] Immediately south of that was a monumental propylon and south of that another assembly hall, which has been identified either as the "bouleuterion", the place where the federal council of Messenia met or as the assembly place of a body of "Sacred Elders" known from an inscription.[61] Finally, in the southernmost corner was a room that has been interpreted as a records house or magisterial office.[62] With regard to the significance of the labels that have been given to the two meeting places it is worth recalling my comments on that issue from the previous chapter. The "ekklesiasterion" could have sat c. 900 people according to my calculations and was, as such, too small to have been a venue for the people's assembly. A first century AD inscription referring to repairs to what is presumed to be this building calls it the "*deikterion*", which suggests that whether it was used for meetings or not, by Roman times it was also a place where people were being shown something, either as entertainment or in a religious context.[63] In terms of its architecture, the closest parallels for the building are bouleuteria from cities such as Miletos or Priene.[64] The building is more the size of a bouleuterion and might have received that name had it not already been assigned to the other meeting room. The so-called "bouleuterion", with a single bench running around it, could have accommodated c. 130 people and was easily large enough (too large perhaps?) to have accommodated the seventy-six members of the "Sacred Elders".[65]

The precise identification of the individual rooms is less important here than whether they did indeed have some political function. Several scholars have assumed that they did and on that basis have concluded that the complex as a whole was constructed to serve as the main administrative and political centre of the city.[66] The state of repair of the recently discovered "bouleion" on the agora suggests that it went out of use at some point before the Roman

60 Themelis 2003a, 69–72. A comprehensive architectural study of the building has been published by Birtacha—Birtacha 2008. Birtacha uses the rather more neutral name "odeion" for the building. The study also avoids discussion of the building's function.

61 Bouleuterion: Themelis 2003a, 72–73; meeting place for the "Hieroi Gerontes" (mentioned in SEG 23, 208): Müth-Herda 2006, 198.

62 Themelis 2003a, 73—poorly preserved and identified tentatively on the basis of an inscription found nearby.

63 The inscription (SEG XXIII, 205 and 207) was found within the building.

64 These are the buildings included as comparanda in the recent study of the odeion by—Birtacha 2008.

65 On there being 76 members—Themelis 2003a, 73.

66 Papahatzis 1967/8; Orlandos 1976, 38; Felten 1983, 82–93; Torelli 1998, 471.

period.[67] If the interpretation of the Asklepieion as a political centre is correct then perhaps the decline of the old council house should be connected to the transfer of political meetings out of the old agora and into the new complex. I will consider the issue of dating the Asklepieion itself below.

A close parallel for the Asklepieion has been pointed to by Papahatzis at Megalopolis.[68] We have already seen how the agoras of Messene and Megalopolis were similar in terms of shape and size, and in both having large Hellenistic stoas with protruding wings and exedras at their rear on the northern edge. Like Messene Megalopolis also had at least one peristyle religious complex adjacent to the agora—the Sanctuary of Zeus Soter.[69] The potentially even closer parallel to the Asklepieion, which Papahatzis points to, is the Sanctuary of the Great Goddesses, described by Pausanias as also situated near the agora of Megalopolis but as yet, undiscovered.[70] That sanctuary, like the Asklepieion, housed a plethora of statues of gods and heroes, two of which were also made by Damophon.[71] Papahatzis makes the comparison in an article in which he argues that the Messenian Asklepieion *was* a political and administrative complex. It is not, however, clear at present whether there are grounds for thinking that either of the complexes at Megalopolis also had a political function.

This interpretation that the Messenian Asklepieion had a political function has been challenged recently but not, to my mind, convincingly. Jürgen Riethmüller includes the sanctuary in his extensive study of Greek Asklepieia and concludes that it is, in fact, not so very different in terms of its layout from other Asklepieia as the excavators claim. He argues that the Messenian Asklepios was a healing god just as elsewhere and that the odeion would have been the venue

67 Petros Themelis—personal communication.

68 Papahatzis 1967/8, 364.

69 For a good recent discussion of the building wih references see Emme 2013, 32–39.

70 Pausanias 8.30.1–7. His description places the sanctuary immediately next to the Stoa of Aristander, which the excavators assumed was on the south side of the square and must have been completely washed away by the changing course of the river Helisson.

71 Pausanias saw the following gods there: Artemis, Asklepios and Hygeia carved in relief by the entrance, Demeter and Kore (the Great Goddesses), representations of Athena, Artemis and Persephone (the text is corrupt but possibly statues and presumably the Persephone is in addition to the Kore carved in relief), Herakles, a table with reliefs depicting Pan and Apollo and some Nymphs. Within the precinct there were also separate precincts of Zeus (with a statue), and of Aphrodite with statues of Hera, Apollo and the Muses outside it, and statues of Hermes and Aphrodite, by Damophon, inside. There were also statues of the men who had founded the mysteries and various smaller images of gods, which sound like votive offerings.

for entertainments as part of a festival in his honour.[72] His argument has been expanded upon by Nino Luraghi.[73] One of Luraghi's reasons for thinking that the Hellenistic Asklepieion remained a healing sanctuary is the continued use of the bathhouse to the south. However, he fails to account for the fact that the bathhouse was rebuilt sometime in the second century BC with its entrance now no longer on the north side but on the south, facing away from the sanctuary.[74] This suggests that at this point, or more likely some time earlier, it came to be seen as distinctly separate from the Asklepieion. In addition, a wealth of first century BC coins has been found within the bathhouse, which has been interpreted as the entrance money paid by bathers.[75] This suggests that the bath by this time had become a commercial establishment, which strengthens the argument that it now had nothing to do with the Asklepieion. Luraghi also mentions the *ex voto* body parts but these predate the Hellenistic sanctuary. In short, while it is clear that the precursor to the Hellenistic complex was a healing sanctuary there is no reason to think that the new complex was.

Luraghi claims that scholars who have seen the eastern rooms as having a public function have assumed that they had little to do with the rest of the Asklepieion. However, I do not think that these scholars meant to imply any such thing. Petros Themelis explicitly states that he believed the ekklesiasterion was used for political meetings *and* theatrical displays in honour of Asklepios.[76] The interpretation of these rooms as having a political function certainly does not require thinking about them as disassociated with the rest of the sanctuary. On the contrary, thinking about the eastern rooms in the context of the complex as a whole, if anything, lends weight to the interpretation that the Asklepieion was the centre of government and administration.

Holding political meetings within the sanctuary would have placed them under the protection of Asklepios, one of the most important gods of the city. In other Greek cities political buildings were often located near sacred space; at Athens, for example, the main political buildings clustered along the western side of the agora among the temples, and at Thasos they were grouped at the east of the agora near the temenos of Zeus Agoraios Thasios. The significance of the western oikoi also seems to become clear if we think of the complex as a whole as having a political function. The collection of statues assembled in these rooms probably were an expression of local identity but, as I have argued

72 Riethmüller 2005, 164–165.
73 Luraghi 2008a, 279.
74 Themelis 2003a, 90–91.
75 Themelis 2003a, 90–91.
76 Themelis 2003a, 73.

above, that does not rule out seeing them as having a sacred significance. The statues assured the permanent presence of the gods and heroes they represented within the complex and, intimately connected with the fortune of the city, these were just the kind of deities that the Messenians would have wanted close at hand when conducting their civic business. The presence of the western *oikoi* surely makes more sense in a complex where political meetings were taking place than in a healing sanctuary. Furthermore, the decision, in Imperial times, to convert the northern wing of the complex into a centre of the imperial cult strengthens the claim that this was a political and administrative centre; as we shall see in the next chapter, temples to the imperial cult tended to be located in or near a city's political agora.[77]

An important issue that remains to be discussed is the date of the Asklepieion. It is clear enough that the temple and surrounding complex were constructed together but it is not clear when exactly that was.[78] An important clue is Pausanias' testimony that Damophon was responsible for most of the statues there. An inscription recently discovered at Messene associates Damophon with work on the Temple of Zeus in the agora. Together with his sons he dedicated, and presumably sculpted new bronze *akroteria* for the building.[79] Unfortunately Damophon's career can still only be pinned down to somewhere in the late third/early second century BC.[80] Whenever Damophon was active it

77 In section 3.10.

78 Luraghi 2008a, 283. Some used to think the temple predated the complex—e.g. Torelli 1998. Petros Themelis has, however, produced numismatic evidence to show that this is impossible—Themelis 2000, 24.

79 Themelis 2003a, 34–37.

80 The only literary evidence for Damophon is to be found in Pausanias. In addition to the statues he reports seeing at Messene and Megalopolis, he also saw a statue of Eilythia at Aegion (7.23.6) and statues of Demeter and Kore at the Sanctuary of Lykosoura. Substantial pieces of the latter were found in the excavations of the sanctuary in the 1880s (published by Charles Waldstein in Frothingham 1890, 209–210) and are now displayed in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Probably Damophon's most prestigious project was the repair of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia, also reported by Pausanias (4.31.6). Damophon has been seen by some art historians as a leading figure in a "neo Classical" revival in Hellenistic art—see Pollitt 1986, 165–167, Cf Smith 1991, 240–241. The pieces found in the Messenian Asklepieion (mentioned above) are invaluable in providing further understanding of his style and technique. Petros Themelis has drawn extensively on this material in his research on Damophon's artistic output—Themelis 1996, 1993, 1993. The fact that the pieces of sculpture from the Asklepieion provide some of the best evidence for Damophon creates obvious problems when trying to use the artist as a fixed point to date the complex.

must have been a period of relative prosperity for the city. Scholars have tried to find plausible historical circumstances under which these projects might have taken place. Petros Themelis has argued for a date between 209 and 195 BC. At this time Messene was recovering from an attack by Macedon in the previous decade and was only involved in the ongoing Second Macedonian War in a low key way; after this the city soon became embroiled in a struggle with the Achaian League, culminating in her forced incorporation into that body. There is some evidence that in this lull between two storms the government shifted significantly toward democracy and Themelis sees this as an auspicious moment for the city to have reasserted its identity through this grandiose building project.[81] Silke Müth has argued that a date between Messene's accession to the Achaian League and the Achaian War (175–150 BC) is more likely.[82] Nino Luraghi agrees that this period is more plausible.[83] To know the historical context of the project would undoubtedly help us make sense of the ideological statement that the Messenians were trying to make. Unfortunately, at present, the issue cannot be resolved. Here, however it is enough to be able to conclude that the complex dates to sometime in the early second half of the Hellenistic period.

Several dates have been proposed for the internal colonnade of the building, mainly on stylistic grounds, which range from the late third to the late first centuries BC.[84] Recently the stoas have been the subject of a highly detailed architectural study by a Japanese team under the direction of Professor Juko Ito who argue on the basis of the fluting of the columns that the treatment of the capitals and the style of the epistyle frieze the colonnades should be dated to the first half of the second century BC.[85] They also point to Hellenistic comparanda for the garland and bucrania decoration of the epistyle frieze.[86] Working on the assumption that the stoas were a part of the original design of the Asklepieion they also refer to the mid-Hellenistic dates that have been suggested for various other parts of the complex to support this interpretation.[87]

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81 Themelis 2003a, 82–83. Discussed by Luraghi 2008a, 284.

82 Müth 2007, 183–185.

83 Luraghi 2008a, 285.

84 E.g. Orlandos argued for the late third century and J.J. Coulton challenged that date and argued on the basis of the fluting of the columns for an early second century date—Coulton 1976, 173. For a full account of proposed solutions to this problem see Hayashida, Yoshitake et al. 2013, 93–94.

85 Hayashida, Yoshitake et al. 2013, 89–90.

86 Hayashida, Yoshitake et al. 2013, 93–94.

87 Hayashida, Yoshitake et al. 2013. ibid.

Whether the stoas were originally part of the building is, however, in my opinion not so certain.

The first problem with the interpretation that the colonnade was erected in the second century is that the use of the Corinthian order for stoas was extremely rare in this period. F.E. Winter cites the Messenian Asklepieion as one of only two examples of the use of the Corinthian order in a stoa in this period; the other was the South Stoa at Olympia but there that was for the internal colonnade.[88] Hayashida, Yoshitake and Ito also state that the Messenian Asklepieion is the first known example of the order's use for the external colonnade of a stoa.[89] In the Augustan period, on the other hand, the Corinthian order became widely used on the outsides of buildings.[90] Some of the capitals found in the Asklepieion were decorated with Erotes and Themelis has recently argued that these far more likely came from the Aphrodite temple on the agora.[91] Whether he would also disassociate the other capitals and the garland frieze that the columns supported from the building is less clear but even if it was part of the building there are grounds for thinking that it might have dated to Roman rather than Hellenistic times. Bucrania and garlands were certainly seen in Hellenistic architecture in the Greek East but they became particularly popular at Rome under Augustus, who deployed the theme to symbolise the prosperity, fertility and rebirth of the new age.[92] The possibility therefore deserves to be entertained that this frieze could have been the product of the Imperial Age.

The biggest reason to think that the colonnade might indeed have been Roman is that the inscription that Despinis used to identify the Asklepieion is a first century AD record that a certain Marcus Cassius Gallus furnished the Asklepieion with four stoas.[93] The Japanese team argue that the text refers to a repair of the columns and point to some signs that the colonnade was indeed repaired at some point.[94] The verb used "*episkeuzō*" can indeed mean "to repair"

88 Winter 2006, 65. Another example that can now be added is the stoa on the north of the agora at Messene where the internal colonnade was also Corinthian.

89 Hayashida, Yoshitake et al. 2013, 96.

90 E.g. Onians 1988, 33ff. and on the significance of the order to Augustus' building programme in Rome—Walker 2000. Hayashida, Yoshitake and Ito (2013, 29–30) discuss them as belonging to the Asklepieion.

91 Themelis 2010, 113 and Themelis 2012, 45. Hayashida, Yoshitake and Ito (2013, 29–30) discuss them as belonging to the Asklepieion.

92 Used significantly for instance on the Ara Pacis at Rome—see Zanker 1988, 117 and 125.

93 IG V, 1. 1462. The name on the stone is "Markos Kaisios Gallus".

94 Hayashida, Yoshitake et al. 2013, 82.

or "restore" but it can also mean "to equip". I therefore suggest that it is at least a possibility that the entire colonnade, at least in the form known through the surviving architectural members, was a construction of Roman Imperial times. Perhaps the complex did have a colonnade from its inception, possibly of more modest design and materials, and Gallus' gift merely replaced it; perhaps the building only received a colonnade in the Imperial period. Ultimately the issue matters more for how we conceive the appearance of the building than it does for questions of accessibility. Even without a colonnade the Hellenistic Asklepieion would still have been a fully enclosed space.

If the interpretation favoured here is correct the Asklepieion was the political and administrative centre of the polis. Its location adjacent to the city's agora is therefore significant. We have already seen that there is good evidence for commercial activity in the old agora—the *sekomata* in the northern stoa, and the agoranomoi inscriptions on the columns of the southern one.[95] The situation at Messene therefore arguably represents a desire to implement the idea seen in the work of Xenophon and Aristotle for there to be two separate agoras, one political, the other commercial.[96] We have already seen that some cities already put these ideas into practice in the late Classical or early Hellenistic period. At Messene, it is striking that, of the two, it was the "political agora" that was most clearly defined architecturally and most enclosed. This stands in sharp contrast with the tendency in Roman times for commercial markets to be fully enclosed, self-contained buildings, while older civic agoras were more rarely subjected to a unifying plan. The late Hellenistic move towards segregating these two spheres of public life at Messene is, however, paralleled albeit slightly later at both Athens and Thasos as we shall now see.

2.3 Redesigning the Athenian Agora

The extensive transformation of the Athenian agora in the mid second century BC is well known (see Figure 19. Cf. Figure 6).[97] Following a century which had seen very little building activity, within a generation no less than three enormous stoas (the Middle Stoa, the Stoa of Attalos and South Stoa II) were erected along with two smaller buildings (the East Building and the Metroon),

95 See here 1.4.

96 See 1.1.

97 On the redevelopment as a whole: Camp 1986, 168 ff.; Camp 2001, 173 and 180–182; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 23; Schalles 1982; Hölscher 2007, 178. See notes and main text here for references to discussions of the individual buildings.

and the character of the agora was completely transformed. For the first time the eastern edge was clearly defined by a building and a separate square was built in the southern part, framed on three sides by buildings and on the fourth side by a wall. Around the same time, although rarely mentioned in connection with these developments, the sixth century building now thought to be the Aiakeion, was also remodelled and incorporated into the South Square;[98] its central court, which had previously been open to the sky, was given a roof supported by columns in a peristyle arrangement.[99]

Previous discussions concerning these developments have usually placed the emphasis on two key areas: (i) the aesthetic impact of the new buildings; the project as a whole has been seen as an attempt to modernise the image of the agora to compete with the much grander complexes of contemporary cities in Asia Minor;[100] (ii) the fact that at least one, possibly several, of these buildings were erected as benefactions on the part of foreign kings; this has been seen as important for understanding Athens' political position at this time.[101] These are certainly important issues. However, not enough attention has been paid to what these projects meant at the local level. These new buildings not only changed what the agora looked like but must also have had a profound effect on the way that the agora as a whole and areas within it were used. It is therefore worth considering the impact of these projects in some detail.

The first point worth making is that it is clear that these buildings were part of a coherent plan to remodel the entire agora. It has been possible to reconstruct the order in which the buildings were erected and this shows that an enormous amount of forward planning lay behind the construction project and that something like the end result was envisaged from the beginning.[102] The first building to be erected was the so-called Middle Stoa constructed around 180 BC.[103] The building was around 147 m long. It was oriented approximately

98 On the Aiakeion see 1.8.

99 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 65.

100 E.g. Camp 1986, 180: "An attempt was made to impose the appearance of order and grandeur on the somewhat quaint, irregular, and unplanned arrangement of the old Classical agora". Wycherley accepted that the cities of Asia Minor provided the inspiration but cautioned that the developments at Athens did not go far enough to make it a true Ionian agora—Wycherley 1942, 32; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 108. Marcus Kohl draws the same conclusion Kohl 2001, 258. On the usefulness of the concept of the "Ionian agora" see Dickenson Forthcoming-b.

101 E.g. Camp 1986, 168 ff.; Habicht 1997, 225–226; Shipley 2000, 87–89.

102 The degree of planning involved has been stressed by Kohl 2001.

103 The stoa was originally dated to post–166 BC by a coin of the Athenian Cleruchy on

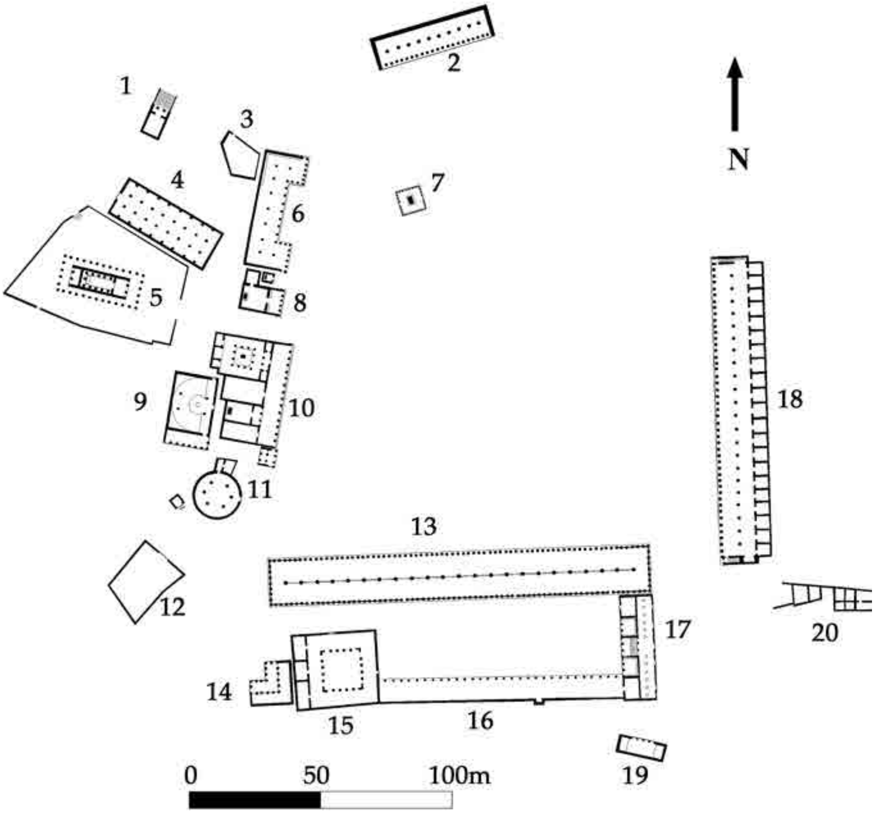

FIGURE 19 *Schematic plan of the Athenian agora c. 150 BC showing the locations of the new buildings (1. Temple?, 2. Painted Stoa, 3. Sanctuary of Demos and the Charites, 4. Arsena?, 5. Temple of Hephaistos, 6. Stoa Basileios, 7. Altar of the Twelve Gods, 8. Temple of Apollo Patroos, 9. New Bouleuterion, 10. Metroon, 11. Tholos, 12. Strategeion?, 13. Middle Stoa, 14. Southwest Fountain House, 15. Aiakeion, 16. South Stoa II, 17. East Building, 18. Stoa of Attalos, 19. Southeast Fountain House, 20. Southeast Shops)*

east-west and was thus more or less perpendicular to the buildings on the western edge. Its eastern end was around 50 m further north than South Stoa I had been which meant that it was quite an encroachment on the open space of the square. It had a continuous colonnade around its perimeter which means it was designed to face south as well as north. This would only make sense if the

Delos—Shear 1936, 6. The date was pushed back to the 180s by a detailed study of the stamped amphora sherds found in the construction fill by Virgina Grace—Grace 1985. Grace points out that Kleiner's (1975) thorough study of the coins found none of them to be categorically later than 180.

"South Square" at its rear had already been conceived at the time the Middle Stoa was set up. The Middle Stoa is not generally thought of as a particularly attractive building, although the continuous colonnade around the perimeter is recognised as an innovation.[104] Its sheer size must have made it a rather expensive building and the discovery of the foundations for a large monument base at its western end has led to some speculation that it might have been a benefaction on the part of a foreign king.[105] The building was constructed on a large artificial terrace, which projected out into the main square in front of it across its entire length at a width of some 5.5 m.

The next stage in the redevelopment project was the dismantling of the Square Peristyle Building, in order to make way for the Stoa of Attalos.[106] That building was donated by Attalos II of Pergamon (reigned 160–138 BC), as clearly attested by the surviving dedicatory inscription.[107] It was completed c. 150 BC (see Figures 19 and 20).[108] The Attalids, of all Hellenistic kings, were the most prodigious builders of stoas at cities. In Asia Minor they financed stoas at Assos, Aigai and Termessos, the first two cities lying within their direct sphere of influence, the third a more distant ally;[109] Attalos II's father, Attalos I, paid for a stoa lining the north side of a new terrace to the east of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi,[110] and his elder brother, and immediate predecessor as king of Perga-

104 On the poor quality of the building Camp 1986, 175. On the colonnade as innovation—Coulton 1976, 73. Thompson and Wycherley (1972, 67) point out that although the materials and decoration of the building were modest "the building is marked by craftsmanship of a high order". The architectural remains of the building are currently being studied for full publication—John Camp—personal communication.

105 On the monument (with reconstruction drawing by W.B. Dinsmoor Jr)—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 67; Thompson 1952b, 88–89; as to the possible identity of the benefactor Virginia Grace, drawing on an inscription from 160/159 from Delos, had suggested Pharnakes of Pontus—Grace 1985, 25–26; mentioned by Camp 1986; 177 Cf Kohl 2001, 258 who has challenged this interpretation. Thompson (1952b, 88–89) had already suggested two alternative possibilities—that either Antiochos IV of Syria or Arriarthes of Cappadocia might have been the benefactor.

106 On the Square Peristyle building see 1.6.

107 Athenian Agora Inscriptions I 6135 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 106 n. For the various problems in restoring the dedicatory inscription see Kohl 2001, 260.

108 Kohl argues (2001) that the date is fixed sometime between the beginning of Attalos' reign and 140 BC. Dating is based on the dedicatory inscription and the small finds associated with the construction layers—Kleiner 1975, 313–318 and 1976, 29; Rotroff 1982, 106; Grace 1985, 14–15.

109 On the political significance of these benefactions see Seddon 1987.

110 Bommelaer 1991, 190–195.

FIGURE 20 *The reconstructed Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian agora*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

mon, Eumenes II had constructed a stoa at Athens immediately to the west of the Theatre of Dionysos.[111] The Attalids evidently saw such buildings as a useful type of benefaction for securing the goodwill of subject and allied peoples.

The Stoa of Attalos at Athens is one of the best-preserved buildings on the agora because its rear wall was built into the late antique fortification wall, constructed in haste after the Herulian onslaught of 267 AD.[112] It is also therefore one of the buildings that has been most studied although its final publication is still in progress.[113] The stoa was once thought to be one of the more famous Classical stoas of the city and the true identity of the building only became clear when the dedicatory inscription was discovered in the late nineteenth century and matched to the only surviving literary reference.[114] In the 1950s

111 Camp 2001, 170–173.

112 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 105–108; Camp 1986, 102–105. For a summary of previous research on the building see Kohl 2001, 242.

113 Richard Anderson and T. Leslie Shear Jr. are currently working on the publication—see n. 120 in Introduction.

114 One popular interpretation was that the building was the famous Painted Stoa—see

the building was reconstructed in order to house the site museum as well as the offices, conservation lab, archive and storage depot of the excavation.[115] Unlike the Middle Stoa this was a truly splendid building and the reconstruction provides a good impression of just how grand it was. The Stoa of Attalos was 116 m long, with two storeys, making it the tallest building on the square. The order of the ground floor colonnade was Doric, that of the first storey Ionic. At the rear of the building on both floors were rows of 21 small rooms, presumably shops, making 42 in total. The entire façade of the building was constructed of Pentelic marble. At the southern end of the building was a fountain house.[116] The pitiful remains of a quadriga monument have been found in front of the building on its central axis, which presumably supported a chariot group statue of Attalos himself.[117] The remains suggest a monument of similar style and dimensions to the well-preserved monument at the entrance to the Akropolis, which was rededicated to Agrippa in Roman Imperial times but is thought to have originally been erected for Attalos' brother, Eumenes II, possibly in connection with the benefaction of his stoa (see Figure 21).[118]

John Travlos proposed that the building was originally intended to be considerably shorter and was twice extended during construction.[119] This would of course have repercussions for the interpretation of the building as part of an overall masterplan. Markus Kohl has recently re-examined the remains and challenges Travlos on this point. While conceding that the building may have been extended slightly once during construction, he argues that the building probably was conceived of in its entirety from the beginning.[120] H.J. Schalles has, furthermore, detected a concern for the image of the agora as a whole in the way that the overall height of the building corresponds more or less to that of the Temple of Hephaistos perched on the Kolonos Agoraios opposite.[121]

The agora sloped naturally downward from south to north. For the stoa to be level it rested on a basement, which rose above the ground at the north and

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Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 220. The modern road that runs behind the building is still called the "Odos Poikile". The literary reference is Athenaeus v. 212f = Wycherley 1957, 99.

115 Mauzy 2006, 31–74; Thompson 1992.

116 Kohl 2001, 246 n; Glaser 1983, 93–94.

117 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 107.

118 Camp 2001, 172–173. See also here Ch 3. n. 259.

119 Kohl 2001, 244; Travlos 1955.

120 Kohl 2001, 245–246.

121 Schalles 1982.

FIGURE 21 *The "Agrippa" monument at the entrance to the Athenian Akropolis. Probably originally constructed in honour of Eumenes II of Pergamon*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

was cut back into the bedrock at the south so that the ground floor of the stoa was level with the agora floor at that end. A terrace, approximately 6 m wide ran along the entire front of the building. The fact that this building, like the Middle Stoa, had a terrace is further evidence for the totality of vision in remodelling the agora. It has been suggested, reasonably, that these terraces would have provided viewing space for spectators during the Panathenaic festival.[122] The two buildings were thus designed to function together visually and in terms of use.

The next building to be erected in this large-scale project was the so-called "East Building", which connected to the rear of the Middle Stoa and would come to close off the eastern end of the new South Square. The East Building is poorly preserved and presents certain problems of reconstruction, but it is clear it consisted of a single long chamber on the eastern side and a series of five

122 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 104 and 107; a potentially parallel set up can be seen in the west stoa of Kassope, erected less than half a century earlier, which also had a terrace along the front of it—see here 1.11.

compartments in the western half.[123] As with the Stoa of Attalos and the Middle Stoa, a spacious terrace ran along the eastern face of the East Building, facing out over the Panathenaic Way.[124] In the course of the construction project the space to the rear of the Middle Stoa was levelled off at the height of that building and a retaining wall constructed to support the new terrace, alongside the eastern edge of the existing road between the west end of the Middle Stoa and the old Southwest Fountain House.[125] This plateau, the floor of the new South Square, was some 1.70 m lower than the surface of the terrace of the East Building. The central western chamber of the East Building appears to have been a stairway connecting the two areas. Of the other four rooms, the southernmost was a fountain, the one immediately to the south of the stairway had the plan of an exedra with a bench around the inner wall and the other two are too badly destroyed to say anything of their form.

The South Square was completed by the erection of the one-aisled Doric stoa that the excavators have labelled South Stoa II.[126] It was constructed partly over the top of the ruins of its predecessor, South Stoa I, which had been demolished at some point slightly earlier to make way for it. Its orientation was, unlike the old South Stoa I, parallel to the new Middle Stoa. It abutted the East Building at its eastern end so that the fountain house room of that building opened into its colonnade. South Stoa II itself had a small fountain in its rear wall. Both the East Building and the remodelling of the old Aiakeion incorporated building blocks taken from the dismantled Square Peristyle Building; it was in South Stoa II, however, that the most extensive use was made of this material.[127] This again shows forward-looking planning on the part of the builders. South Stoa II is thought to have been completed sometime around 140 BC. There was thus a significant time lag between the dismantling of the Square Peristyle Building and the reuse of the blocks in the new stoa, during which the Stoa of Attalos was put up. The blocks of the Square Peristyle were therefore presumably earmarked for their new use at the time they were taken down and were kept

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123 On the East Building—Camp 1986, 177–179; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 68–70; Thompson 1952b, 86. On the wall—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 70.

124 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 70.

125 Thompson 1949, 213.

126 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 68; Camp 1986, 177.

127 Material from the peristyle was used for the steps, columns, entablature and facing of the rear wall of the stoa—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 68; Camp 1986, 177; Townsend 1995, 50–52, 56–62, 84, 104, and, arguing that wooden elements of the building also found their way into the stoa—p. 76. Townsend also mentions the elements that were used in the other buildings (pp. 50–52).

in storage, either in the agora or nearby, until the project had advanced to the stage that they were required.[128] The western edge of the South Square was closed off by a wall.[129]

The construction of the new Metroon on the west of the square around 140 BC has often been associated with the other developments we have been considering here.[130] The building was designed to fulfil two main functions. It served simultaneously as both the Temple of the Mother Goddess and as the city's official archive. Athens is known from literary sources to have had a Metroon, used as a depository of state documents, much earlier so it is assumed that the building which had previously stood at this location, the so-called 'Old Bouleuterion' had been used in this capacity following the construction of the 'New Bouleuterion' at the end of the fifth century.[131] The new Hellenistic Metroon consisted of four main rooms of decreasing width and depth from north to south, all entered from the east side. The northernmost and largest of the rooms was a peristyle court entered through a porch and with five smaller rooms opening off it. There has been some speculation as to how the building's multiple functions might have been accommodated in these various rooms.[132] It seems clear, however, that the second room from the south must have been the temple. This is suggested by its temple-like plan—it had its own porch—and by the discovery of a large base in the open space of the agora, diametrically opposite its entrance, which is thought to have been the altar.

An Ionic portico, 40 m long and 7.5 m wide, and with 14 columns, ran along the full length of the front of the building. This colonnade gave the building its unity.[133] It also contributed to the overall effect of giving the agora a more orderly image, achieved on the south and east by the Middle Stoa and the Stoa of Attalos. It was far shorter than these new stoas, yet it effectively continued

128 This point is made by Townsend 1995, 104.

129 Mentioned by Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 70 although they do not say when they believe it to have been erected.

130 Camp 1986, 179; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 36–38; Thompson 1937, 172–203.

131 It is worth reiterating here that there has been some controversy about the interpretation of these Classical buildings—see here 1.6. The literary references to the Athenian Metroon are gathered in Wycherley 1957, *456–519*. Mentions of the building that predate the Hellenistic building are made by Aischines, Deinarchos and Demosthenes.

132 For the most recent and, to my mind most convincing restoration see Valavanis 2002. He provides a good overview of previous discussion of the issue.

133 J.J. Coulton points to the way that colonnades were beginning to lose their role as standalone buildings at this time and were increasingly used as devices to link together otherwise untidy architectural ensembles. He cities the Metroon as an example—Coulton 1976, 173.

the disjointed, uneven row of columns of the façades of the Royal Stoa, the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and the temples of Zeus and Athena and of Apollo Patroos on the western side of the square.[134] The fact that it was the only building in the Ionic order on this side shows that the aim was not a completely unified appearance. The Ionic columns may, however, have been intended as a balance to the Ionic order of the upper story of the Stoa of Attalos on the other side of the square. Scholars have also detected a certain Pergamene influence in its architecture, which is another reason for thinking that the same forces might have been responsible for its erection as for the Stoa of Attalos.[135] It is an attractive idea that the architects or builders who were in Athens working on the Stoa of Attalos may also have constructed the Metroon. It has also been suggested that the building might therefore have been another benefaction on the part of Attalos. However tempting that idea might be, and despite claims to the contrary, this remains speculation.[136]

At the same time as these grand building projects, or perhaps slightly later, a bema (speaker's platform) was set up in front of the Stoa of Attalos.[137] A reference to the bema and its location in Athenaeus allowed the excavators to identify the foundations of a monument discovered directly opposite the Attalid donor monument as belonging to the platform.[138] The archaeological

134 Note that Homer Thompson, at a very early stage in the Athenian Agora Excavations argued that the Temple of Apollo Patroos was also given a new porch at this time, thus adding to the uniform effect—Thompson 1937, 90.

135 The building shares many features with the Stoa of Attalos: a combination of conglomerate, hard grey poros and Hymettan and Pentellic marble in the construction, a similar finishing of these materials and similar clamping and dowelling of their steps and columns—Thompson 1937, 192–193. Resemblances to the library at Pergamon have also been noted—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 38 and Thompson 1937, 215. Scholars have also commented on a possible Delian influence on the building both in terms of its architecture—the peristyle room—and the worshipping of eastern deities such as the Mother of the Gods—Thompson 1937, 217; Valavanis 2002, 224. The building was constructed during the time that Delos was under Athenian control.

136 Speculation about the building being a benefaction: Schalles 1982, 107; Thompson 1937, 216–217; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 38. Thompson (1940, 150–151) suggests that similarities in the tiles used on the Metroon and the Stoa of Attalos may be significant. Valavanis 2002, 222, 252 and 254 goes so far as to state that the building certainly *was* an Attalid but provides no evidence to support that claim. He also rejects an alternative suggestion that it may have been a benefaction on the part of members of the local elite—Valavanis 2002, 222.ff. Cf Kohl 2001, 255. n. 80, who is equally adamant that the Metroon was not a Pergamene benefaction.

137 Athenaeus 5.212.e–f = Wycherley 1957, *99*.

138 Shear 1938, 324; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 51–52.

remains of this unassuming structure are modest, certainly compared to the grand new stoas. Yet it was arguably the bema that signalled the most dramatic change in how the agora was used as a public space, as we shall see.

To appreciate the significance of the modifications to the agora in this period it is important to consider what the individual buildings and the separate areas created by them were used for. Let us begin with a closer look at the new South Square.

2.4 The Function of the New South Square at Athens

Scholars have come up with various theories as to what the new South Square was used for. It has been suggested as a gymnasium, a law court and a commercial market. The gymnasium interpretation mainly hinges on a remark in Pausanias that he saw the so-called Gymnasium of Ptolemy, also known from other sources, near the agora.[139] However, while there is still controversy as to what exactly Pausanias means when he uses the word "agora" in his description of Athens—the Roman Agora or the old Archaic agora—there is now fairly widespread acceptance that he is not talking about the old Classical agora, which he several times refers to as "Keramiekos", the name of the district of Athens in which the square was located.[140] In that light there are no longer any real grounds for thinking that the South Square was a gymnasium. The other interpretations deserve closer scrutiny.

John Camp has made the most recent argument in favour of the complex being a marketplace.[141] He argues that South Stoa I was a commercial building so it would make sense if the building that replaced it was as well. This allows

139 Pausanias 1.17.1. The interpretation was proposed by Homer Thompson, who also suggested that the Theseion, mentioned by Pausanias as standing near the gymnasium might be identified as the building now thought to be the Aiakeion—Thompson 1966a, 40–42.

140 On that controversy, with references to the debate see Dickenson 2015.

141 Camp 1986, 121–126; 2001, 127–128. The idea was first proposed by Homer Thompson (Thompson 1954a) but he later changed his mind because no market equipment was found there—Thompson 1960, 363. Virginia Grace's suggestion (1985, 25 ff.) for identifying the Middle Stoa as a grain silo—the Alphitopolis mentioned in the literary sources—would suit the interpretation of the square as a mercantile space but she has not, to my knowledge, found many supporters. Regarding the Alphitopolis stoa, Grace points out (p. 26 n. 67) that Vanderpool (1968, 75–76) and Thompson and Wycherley (1972, 76 n. 216) had previously made this suggestion for South Stoa I. The idea that the row of rooms with their off-centre doorways, characteristic of public dining facilities, were actually used for storage seems inherently unlikely.

him to connect the redevelopment of the Athenian agora with the growing tendency, which we have already seen elsewhere, for cities to have two agoras, one more political, the other more commercial in function. I am not convinced by this scenario. According to Camp's own interpretation of the building, South Stoa I probably provided dining space for public officials and might have been the place where coins from the nearby mint were put into official circulation.[142] This suggests the stoa was not strictly a commercial building, but rather a building concerned with administration and political control (possibly) of commerce. The distinction is important. If there was continuity of function between the two South Stoas then we should expect the later building to also have been used for government and administration. The South Square, for reasons that will become clear below, was also not particularly well suited to serve as a market building. I agree with Camp that the second century redevelopment of the Athenian agora resulted in a division between a more commercial and a more political area. However, I believe that there is far better reason to think that the more commercial area was located to the east of the Stoa of Attalos and shall make this case in the following section. First it is important to consider the possibility that the South Square was a law-court complex, in my opinion the most convincing interpretation.

Homer Thompson had originally entertained the possibility that the South Square was a marketplace and abandoned that idea in favour of the hypothesis that it was a gymnasium.[143] By the time he came to write volume fourteen of the *Athenian Agora* series, together with R.E. Wycherley, he had changed his mind again. There, the two scholars made the case that the building housed the city's law courts. For them, as for John Camp, the possibility of continuity of function was an important consideration. The law courts on the Athenian agora are a well-known feature of the Classical democracy. They call to mind the forensic speeches of the great fourth century orators, such as Demosthenes, Aischines and Lykourgos. No comparable speeches survive from later periods but, as Thompson and Wycherley state, the law courts certainly continued to function well into Hellenistic times. They point out that juries "on the old scale" are still attested to in second century inscriptions and that all of the dateable *kleroteria* (allotment machines) discovered on the agora excavation have been dated to the period around the middle of that century.[144] Pausanias suggests that the courts were still going strong when he visited the city in the second century

142 Camp 1986, 122–126. On the building see here 1.4.

143 See here n. 139.

144 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 70.

AD.[145] We have already seen that in the fourth century the Square Peristyle Building provided space for a large amount (if not most or all) of the city's legal hearings.[146] When that building was demolished to make way for the Stoa of Attalos new accommodation would have been needed for the courts. It seems likely that a location on, or near, the agora would have been desirable. No other building of suitable size and date has been found there. The South Square was part of the redevelopment scheme from the very beginning. It therefore seems a good candidate for a new court building. Elements of the Square Peristyle were even incorporated into the new South Stoa II, which some scholars have argued might have been intended to create a symbolic connection between the two buildings.[147] Thompson and Wycherley's interpretation must, in part, have been inspired by the now disproven identification of the large Archaic building in the southwest of the agora as the Heliaia, one of the most famous law courts of the city.[148] However, the interpretation of that building was by no means central to their argument.

The layout of the new complex provides further grounds for thinking that the complex housed the courts. In both the old Square Peristyle and the new South Square entrance was tightly controlled. For the former building this has been connected with the description of the careful regulation of the way the jurors entered the courts in the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens*.[149] There were two ways into the South Square and neither was particularly conducive to the flow of traffic. The first was through the Middle Stoa. The spaces between the columns of the central colonnade were closed off by a screen wall so that one could only pass from the front to the rear at the two extremities.[150] A parapet also ran around some parts of the outer colonnade (the poor preservation of

145 Pausanias (1.28.1) Except for the comment that the court he calls "the Triangle" was in an obscure part of the city Pausanias does not say where the courts were located in his day. He mentions them out of topographical sequence when describing the Ilissos valley area to the east of the Akropolis. It is unlikely that the courts at that time could have met in the South Square (for reasons see here 4.7). Their survival in some form into the Imperial period is, however, what matters here because it means that they must have been accommodated somewhere in Hellenistic times.

146 See here 1.6; for the function of the Square Peristyle—Townsend 1995; Boegehold 1995.

147 Boegehold 1995, 96; Kohl 2001, 256.

148 On which see here 1.8.

149 For [Aristotle]'s description of the courts see *Athenian Constitution* 63–69. The description is matched to the Square Peristyle Building by Townsend 1995, 92. On the specific issue of entrances and what Aristotle has to say about them see Townsend ibid. 93, n. 121.

150 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 66.

the building means the exact arrangement is uncertain);[151] this too limited and directed movement from one side of the building to the other. The other entrance (presumably the main one) was through the staircase in the centre of the East Building. The relative inaccessibility of the South Square is one of the best reasons for thinking that it was designed to accommodate the courts and also would have made it decidedly unsuitable as a market building, by making it difficult for traders to bring their wares inside it.

Finds within the complex also point to it having served the courts. Firstly, within the porch of the East Building four marble bedding blocks were found each around 0.90 m square. Thompson and Wycherley argue that these blocks were spaced in such a way that there would probably originally have been twelve of them. At the time of the building's erection there were 12 Athenian tribes. They therefore suggest that the bases would have been suitable for supporting the wooden boxes, which the author of the *Constitution* states stood at the entrance to the courts, one for each tribe.[152] If this was indeed the main way into the square, it would have been the most suitable location for these pieces of dikastic equipment. Secondly, most of the fragments of kleroteria mentioned above were found either within or very near to the South Square.

Two recent scholars have also considered the possibility of the South Square accommodating the courts. Markus Kohl has favoured this interpretation.[153] Alan Boegehold, in his thorough study of the Athenian courts, admits it is an attractive idea but expresses certain reservations.[154] He argues that the bedding blocks in the East Building could have supported something other than boxes for court equipment, suggesting bankers' tables as a possibility. The likelihood of there being twelve of them does, however makes it tempting to connect them in some way, as Thompson and Wycherley did, with the twelve tribes. Boegehold also points out that the kleroteria fragments could have been used in machines that allotted individuals to groups other than the juries, such as the boule or any of a number of boards of magistrates. Still their presence does suggest some civic, as opposed to a commercial, function and the fact that the demolition of the Square Peristyle Building would have left the law courts looking for new accommodation makes the possibility of the use of the kleroteria for sorting juries an attractive one.

151 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, ibid. with tentative reconstruction drawings.

152 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 70; Aristotle *Athenian Constitution* 63–66.

153 Kohl 2001, 256; surprisingly he makes no reference to Thompson and Wycherley's arguments even though they are stronger than his own and in agreement with him.

154 Boegehold 1995, 96–97.

The most important problem that Boegehold raises is that the new square provided much more space than the Athenians would have required for the courts, which seem to have assembled in maximum numbers of 500 at that time. This is a valid point—the open square could have accommodated a crowd more than ten times that number, South Stoa II itself could have held more than 2,000 people. An excess of space is not, however, sufficient grounds to disqualify the square as a court complex. After all, the Square Peristyle had an enormous open space at its centre with room for around 3,000 people. This has been interpreted as room for spectators.[155] Furthermore the space within the South Square was not left completely open for long and may never have been intended to be. Two buildings were erected there not long after its completion, probably in the late second or early first century BC.[156] If these buildings too were planned from the start it would mean that the intended amount of open space in the square was significantly less than Boegehold assumes. These buildings had a short life; they were probably destroyed in the Sullan assault of 86 BC and little of them remains except the foundations, which makes it difficult to be sure what they were. The easternmost of the two has, however, been tentatively identified as a temple. The suggestion would in no way preclude the possibility that the square accommodated the courts; religion was profoundly intertwined with public life in the ancient polis. If the identification of the "temple" is correct then the primary purpose of the open space in the square might have been to allow for religious sacrifices to take place, possibly preliminary to conducting legal business. Erecting two temples in the middle of a court complex seems a rather more plausible scenario than that they were set up in a commercial marketplace.

Even if the South Square was still too large to have been exclusively a court building, it is plausible that it could have accommodated the courts *and* some other function. It is, indeed, Boegehold's cautious conclusion that "the South Square should be thought of as having more than one function, since its great size admitted a variety of social, administrative, and mercantile uses".[157] I believe that administrative and social uses are considerably more likely than mercantile ones. In addition to the arguments just made it is worth recalling that the old South Stoa I, which was demolished to make way for the new buildings, was probably an administrative building rather than a strictly commercial one. The only reason for thinking that the South Square might have been a mar-

155 Townsend 1995, 93.
156 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 70–71; Thompson 1968, 41–43.
157 Boegehold 1995, 97.

ket is that other cities at this time are known to have gone to lengths to separate trade and politics on their agoras. Expecting Athens to have followed step with developments elsewhere scholars have wanted to identify a specialised commercial agora at the city.

There are actually grounds for thinking that the major redevelopment of Athens' civic centre in the mid 2nd century BC was indeed partly intended to achieve some degree of separation between commerce and politics. It is, however, most likely, as we shall see, that the more commercial area was to the east of the Stoa of Attalos, the more political area to the west of that building. Before making that case it is useful to first consider the impact of the new bema on the main part of the main agora square. To fully appreciate the significance of this speaker's platform requires widening our focus to look at Athens in the context of a more general phenomenon. We must consider where the influence for the bema came from and consider evidence, which has previously received little attention, that there was a fairly widespread trend for such platforms to be erected on agoras at this time.

2.5 Bemata at Athens and Elsewhere—Roman Influence on Greek Public Space

The word "agora" is derived from the Greek verb "ageirō" meaning to "gather" or "to assemble" and the agora may first have emerged in early Archaic times as a square for meetings of civic assemblies.[158] Excavations of Greek colonies in Sicily and Magna Graecia have found structures interpreted as assembly places in the immediate vicinity of the agora.[159] There is, however, surprisingly little evidence from Archaic or Classical times from anywhere in the Greek world for political assemblies actually taking place in the open space of the

158 In Homer, the closely related word "agorē" is only ever used to describe assemblies of a political nature—E.g. Homer *Iliad* 2.144, 2.149, 788, 808; *Odyssey* 2.26, 257. On these grounds Roland Martin argued that the earliest agoras were above all political assembly places—Martin 1951, 17–41. Cf Marc 1998, 9 and Donati 2010b who argue that the commercial function of the early agora was more important than often thought. Paul Millett (1998, 274) has argued that the political and commercial functions could have developed in tandem. See also here p. 157 for the suggestion that the most important function of early agoras was to serve as religious gathering spaces.

159 Among the Greek cities of Sicily and Southern Italy "*ekklesiasteria*" are known archaeologically at Akragas, Metapontion and Poseidonia—Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 55–57, 65–67 and 69–71 with extensive references.

agora.[160] The Athenian ostracisms are a notable exception but they were a special kind of political gathering and held only once a year;[161] the regular meeting place of the Athenian ekklesia was, already in the fifth century, the Pnyx.[162] By the Hellenistic period political assemblies of citizen bodies in cities throughout the Greek world tended to meet either in purpose-built buildings (sometimes called "ekklesiasteria" in modern scholarship though the word is rarely attested in the ancient sources) or, more often, in the theatre.[163] Some scholars have accepted the existence of a "herald's stone" in the Athenian agora as a platform from which magistrates made public proclamations.[164] However, the only evidence for the stone is a mention in Plutarch's *Life of Solon*, which must be treated with scepticism.[165] We do not even know where the agora of Solon's day was located at Athens and it is highly unlikely that Plutarch, writing in the 1st century AD, had detailed knowledge of either the topography or function of the agora of the 6th century BC.[166] His reference does not emphasise the existence of the platform in the way that we might expect if he were sharing knowledge of an authentic historical detail and it is quite possible that he was influenced by contemporary practice in imagining just how Solon might have

160 Demonstrated by Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 45–48. For Athens there are only three *ekklesia* meetings attested on the agora for Archaic and Classical times. Two are mentioned by Plutarch (*Life of Solon* 8.2 and 30.1) and are, as such highly problematic, in that this is a very late source describing events in the Archaic period, a period for which even the location of the city's agora is highly controversial to say nothing of its function. The other attestation concerns an exceptional meeting at a time when the Pnyx had been closed for rebuilding by the Thirty Tyrants—[Aristotle] *Athenian Constitution* 38.1. See also Plutarch *Life of Themistokles* 19.4.

161 For the ostracisms see Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 50–51 and Forsdyke 2005 esp. 149 and 162–164 on the agora as venue for the procedure.

162 It would be redundant here to give extensive references to what can be said about the Pnyx from historical sources or the archaeological excavations. For a brief discussion, with bibliography, see Hansen 1991, 128–129. For a fairly up-to-date consideration of a range of topics pertaining to the Pnyx see the articles in Forsén and Stanton 1996.

163 Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 48ff. For the few ancient attestations of the word "*ekklesiasterion*" see Kenzler 1999, 246 n. 62.

164 Vanderpool 1966, 275; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 48; Fredal 2006, 81ff.; Shear 1994, 242–245—Shear suggests that this stone was the famous "*lithos*" that stood before the Stoa Basileios in the Classical agora and that it had originally stood in the Archaic Agora, being moved from there when the Stoa was constructed; Fredal (ibid.) seems to like Shear's suggestion as does Robertson 1998, 300.

165 Plutarch *Life of Solon* 8.1–2.

166 On the thorny problem of the Archaic agora at Athens see here Introduction n. 12.

addressed a crowd. The only certain example of an agora bema dating to before the late Hellenistic period anywhere in the Greek world, of which I am aware, is the one mentioned in the famous Gortynian Law Code, which speaks of it being used in public ceremonies connected with the affirmation of citizen rights.[167] While it is probably a fairly safe assumption that informal political gatherings did take place on agoras of Greek cities from Archaic through to early Hellenistic times, there is, in short, no reason to think that architectural provision for meetings in the form of speakers' platforms was common before the 2nd century BC.

This makes the erection of the speaker's platform at Athens a dramatic addition to the square. Athenaeus mentions it as being set up either for, or more likely by (the Greek is ambiguous) the Roman Generals, which suggests it represents at least some degree of Roman influence on how the agora was used.[168] There is evidence for speaker's platforms being set up on other agoras in the same period as the Athenian bema and also in connection with Roman influence. It is therefore important to consider the Athenian bema as part of a wider phenomenon and to think about the extent to which Roman public squares—the Forum Romanum and the forums of their colonies—might have served as a model that the Greeks began to emulate on their agoras. To appreciate the way in which speakers' platforms on the agora marked a move toward a more Roman way of using public space it is important to first of all briefly consider the evidence for the use of such platforms at Rome itself.

In Republican times the so-called "Comitium", located on the north side of the Forum Romanum in front of the *Curia* or Senate House, served as the venue for voting assemblies—the *Comitia Tributa* and *Concilium Plebis*. The Comitium may also have been the venue for the *contiones*, gatherings that preceded the voting assemblies in which magistrates put proposals to the people for discussion. Excavations of the monument have revealed a complex history with at least eight discernible phases, the earliest of which predate the founding of the Republic in the late 6th century BC; the structure was demolished in

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167 Gortyn Law code Col. X. 34–35; Col. XI. 12–14.

168 Athenaeus 5.212.e-f = Wycherley 1957, *99* = FGrHis 87 F 36. The dative "strategois" could signify either "by" or "for" as Christian Habicht has pointed out—Habicht 1997, 294. Christian Habicht assumes that the bema was an Athenian initiative but if it was intended to be used by Roman generals then it seems more likely that the Romans erected it themselves. Habicht also considers (ibid.) the question of what the word "strategos" means in this context. Apparently the word is often used by the Greeks to render the Latin "praetor" however it could also mean more generally something like "commanders" which Habicht believes was the sense of the word in this context.

Julius Caesar's rearrangements of the square.[169] The extensive building work carried out in the Forum under Caesar and Augustus makes reconstruction of the Comitium problematic but it seems likely that from the first half of the third century BC it took the form of a circular auditorium, possibly modelled on the "ekklesiasteria" found on the agoras of Greek cities in Sicily and Southern Italy.[170] It is worth stressing that these buildings have been recognised as a particular feature of agoras of western Greek cities, unattested at poleis in other parts of the Greek world. An integral part of the Comitium was the famous speaker's platform known as the Rostra, or "prows" after the prows of enemy ships captured at the Battle of Antium in 338 BC, which adorned its front.[171] In time, through association with famous orators and events of historical importance, the Rostra became a deeply revered monument, a symbol of the moral rectitude demanded of public figures and a focus for popular sentiment until well into Imperial times.[172]

At some point in the second century BC the Romans began holding assemblies in the open space of the Forum itself, with speakers still using the old Rostra but now facing away from the Comitium. Controversy surrounds the nature of this change because the ancient sources disagree about its timing and about who was responsible. Cicero and Varro attribute the change to C. Licinius Crassus, Tribune of the Plebs in 145 BC while Plutarch says that Gaius Gracchus was responsible for the move.[173] Filippo Coarelli has argued that the voting

169 For an overview of the archaeological evidence see Coarelli 2007, 51–54; Coarelli 1983, 119–160; Coarelli 1985, 11–21.

170 On the problematic nature of the evidence concerning the Comitium's shape see Sewell 2010, 45–47. See also n. 169. On political assembly places on the agoras of western Greek cities see Sewell 2010, 36 ff. On the Comitium possibly being influenced by those structures see Sewell 2010, 47.

171 For the importance of the Rostra in the late Republican period see Millar 1984, 1989 Millar 1989. Imperial building work in the Forum and, in particular, the movement of the Rostra, create problems for interpreting the archaeological remains of the Republican period structure. On the probable remains see Coarelli 2007, 53–54 and Murray and Petsas 1989, 117–123. For ancient testimony for the Antium prows see Livy 8.14.12; Pliny *Natural History* 34.20.

172 The symbolic significance of the Rostra is demonstrated, for example, by the way in which Cicero berated Antony for appearing naked on the platform and by the way that Augustus' anger at his daughter Julia's dissolute lifestyle reached breaking point when he discovered she had been cavorting drunk on the Rostra—Cassius Dio 45.30.1 and 55.10.12. Public attachment to the Rostra in Imperial times is suggested by the fact that the Genius of the Populus Romanus continued to be worshipped there—Cassius Dio. 47.2, 50.8.

173 Cicero *On Friendship 96*, Varro *On Rustic Affairs* 1.2.10, Plutarch *Life of Gaius Gracchus* 5.

assemblies were moved by Crassus and the *contiones* by Gracchus, an interpretation that has found some support.[174] Nicholas Purcell, on the other hand, has argued that the contiones had always been held in the open space of the Forum and that Plutarch is simply mistaken.[175] The uncertainty surrounding the timing of the move is frustrating for our purposes because a clearer understanding of when and how the open space of the Forum Romanum was used for political meetings would make it easier to address the question of whether the Rostra served as a model for the Athenian bema, and for those attested at other Greek cities, which we will consider presently. There are, however, good reasons to think that there was indeed a stronger tradition of using the forum as an assembly place in Roman culture than there was for the agora in the Greek world.

In the first place there is evidence for speakers' platforms other than the Rostra, being used to conduct gatherings of a political nature on the Forum Romanum before the mid 2nd century. The Temple of Castor and Pollux at the western end of the Forum was rebuilt at some point in the 2nd century BC, perhaps in 168, when the frontal steps were replaced with a platform flanked by two stairs. The platform is securely attested for slightly after that being used to address crowds in both Comitia and Contiones and it is hard to see what function the platform had been constructed for if not to facilitate public meetings.[176] The Praetors presided over legal hearings sitting in an ivory chair atop the so-called "Tribunal Praetoris", which seems to have originally been a part of the Comitium before a separate platform was erected in the first century BC.[177] The Comitium also included a third speaker's platform, where visiting ambassadors would address the Roman people. It became known as the "Graecostasis" after the many Greek emissaries who came to speak with increasing frequency from the late 3rd century BC on.[178] The evidence for Greek envoys at Rome reminds us that the stories they brought back with them would have been one of the most important ways in which other Greeks learned about the way the Romans used their forum as a political meeting space.

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174 Accepted by Patterson 1992, 190–192 and Mouritsen 1991, 24.

175 Purcell 1995b, 327.

176 See Mouritsen 1991, 21 and 24 though note that he accepts Plutarch's testimony that the *contiones* were moved by Gaius Gracchus and argues there is no reason to think that the platform was used for this purpose before his tribunate.

177 Purcell 1995b, 332.

178 On the "Graecostasis" see Coarelli *LTUR* II: 373; 1983: 141–146; 1985: 102–104; Welch 2003: 27–34; Sewell 2010, 47. Pliny (*Natural History* 33.19) suggests that the platform already existed in 304 BC. That was before Greek envoys to Rome can have been common but it is possible that the platform did already exist and came by its name later.

Excavations have also found evidence for what seem to be provisions for public meetings on the forums of early Republican colonies for an early period in Roman history. Stone lined pits have been found along the edges of the forums of Fregellae (4th century at the latest), Alba Fucens, Paestum and Cosa (all early 3rd century), which have been interpreted as creating divisions for voting lanes or supporting other ephemeral wooden architecture used to facilitate meetings on these squares.[179] That these pits were apparently a standard feature of mid-Republican colonies is highly suggestive that in this respect at least the colonies were emulating the use of the Forum at Rome.

Literary sources suggest that the use of public squares for political meetings, and in particular the presence of permanent speakers' platforms, was something Greeks were unaccustomed to and which they thought of as particularly Roman. Firstly there is Livy's rich description of the way that Aemilius Paulus dealt with the defeated Greeks after the Battle of Pydna, which is worth citing in full:

> Aemilius gave notice for the councils of ten from all the cities to assemble at Amphipolis and to bring with them all archives and documents wherever they were deposited, and all the money due to the royal treasury. When the day arrived he advanced to the tribunal, where he took his seat with the ten commissioners, surrounded by a vast concourse of Macedonians. Though they were accustomed to the display of royal power, *this novel assertion of authority* filled them with fear; the *tribunal*, the clearing of the approach to it through the mass of people, the herald, the apparitor, *all these were strange to their eyes and ears* and might even have appalled allies of Rome, to say nothing of a vanquished enemy. (My emphases)[180]

Livy does not say that the audience before Aemilius took place on the city's agora though that would have been the obvious venue for the event. What matters, however, is that Livy stresses that the sight of a powerful magistrate passing judgement from a tribunal in a public setting was one that the Greeks were unused to and had not experienced even in their dealings with Hellenistic kings. This was clearly a very Roman display of power.

Polybios, writing a few decades after Pydna refers specifically to the Rostra at Rome in his discussion of the Roman custom of holding public funerals for important men in the Forum. He calls the Rostra the "so-called *emboloi*",

179 Sewell 2010, 67 ff.

180 Livy 45.29.1–2. I am grateful to Kostas Buraselis for drawing my attention to this passage.

"wedges" after the rams attached to it.[181] In the Imperial period Greek writers, such as Plutarch, most often use the Greek word "bema" to refer to the platform.[182] Polybios must, of course, have recognised that the Rostra was a kind of bema but the fact that he uses a different name for it suggests he felt the need to explain what the platform was to his Greek audience. As late as the time of Augustus, Dionysios of Halikarnassos still found it necessary to explain to his audience what the Roman Rostra was. Although he does call the platform the "bema", in describing how Brutus, the legendary founder of the Republic, climbed the Rostra he adds: "from which it was the custom for those who assembled the people to address them".[183] By the time Dionysios was writing several—possibly many—Greek cities had bemata on their agoras. However his description suggests that these structures were still not ubiquitous.

The earliest evidence we have for a speaking platform on a Greek agora, other than at Gortyn, is directly linked to Roman influence and concerns the Seleucid king Antiochos IV, whose reputation for eccentricity earned him the name "*epimanes*", (mad), a pun on the title he took for himself, "*epiphanes*".[184] Polybios and Livy (drawing on Polybios) describe how Antiochos walked around the streets of Antioch canvassing for votes and trying to get himself elected as *aedile* (agoranomos) or tribune (*demarchos*); once "elected" he carried out arbitrations, sat on an ivory chair on the agora, like a civic magistrate.[185] Antiochos had spent his formative years at Rome and seems to have become thoroughly "Romanised".[186] Both Polybios and Livy explicitly describe this particular behaviour as in "accordance with the Roman custom".[187] It seems likely

181 Polybios 6.53.1: "τοὺς καλουμένους ἐμβόλους".

182 E.g. *Life of Antony* 20.2, *Life of Crassus* 15.5, *Life of Camillus* 42.2, *Life of Fabius Maximus* 8.3, *Life of Coriolanus* 34.2–3, *Life of Aemilius Paulus* 11.1 and elsewhere in the *Life of Cato the Younger* 33.1, 21.6, 44.1–4. Plutarch does once uses the word "*emboloi*" to refer to the Rostra—*Life of Cato the Younger* 44.3.

183 Dionysios of Halikarnassos 4.76.4.

184 Polybios 26.1 = Austin 1981, ***163***a.

185 Polybios 26.1 = Austin 1981, ***163***a. See also Livy 41.20. On the *aediles* being thought of as analogous to Greek *agoranomoi* see Dionysios of Halikarnassos 6.90.2.

186 On Antiochos' years as hostage at Rome see Appian *The Syrian War* 7.39, Mittag 2006, Ch. 3. Antiochos even tried to introduce gladiatorial combats to the Greek East, staging lavish games at Daphne in 166 BC—Polybios 30.25 and Diodorus Siculus—31.16.1 = Austin 1981, ***213***; on this particular aspect of Antiochos' Romanising see Edmonson 1999. Fergus Millar offers an interesting parallel for Antiochos' Roman ways in the person of Prusias of Bithynia who met a senatorial delegation dressed in the attire of a freedman—Millar 1977, 614, referring to Diodorus Siculus 3.15.2.

187 Polybios 26.1.6: "καθίσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον κατὰ τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθος διήκουε τῶν

that the king was modelling his actions not on the aediles or tribunes as Polybios suggests but rather on the higher magistrates, the praetors and consuls. Praetors, as mentioned above, sat on ivory chairs in presiding over legal hearings. Although neither Polybios nor Livy explicitly mentions that Antiochos' chair was placed atop a platform, the "curule chair" of the Roman praetors did stand on top of the so-called "Tribunal Praetoris" which makes it likely that Antiochos' chair would also have been mounted on a bema.[188] The purpose of Polybios and Livy's story is, of course, to draw attention to behaviour that was deemed inappropriate for a Hellenistic monarch. For our purposes, however, the fact that Antiochos is compared to Roman rather than Greek magistrates is significant because it suggests that the sight of magistrates sat atop platforms on agoras was not one that the Greeks of the second century BC were used to. It is worth reiterating that Livy explicitly stresses in the passage cited above concerning Aemilius Paulus that the Greeks were not used to seeing kings presiding over hearings on public tribunals. The only other evidence that we do have for a Hellenistic king passing judgement in public on an agora is found in Plutarch's *Moralia* and sounds suspiciously like a late invention.[189]

Antiochos IV died in 164 BC. Less than a decade and a half after that the Stoa of Attalos was completed at Athens. The stoa provides a *terminus post quem* for the erection of the bema on the agora there because it is axially aligned with the centre of that building. Athenaeus' reference to the platform provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for the platform's construction because it concerns an episode—either directly quoted or paraphrased from the historian Poseidonios—in which the bema was used and which took place in the year 88 BC. The position of the bema directly in front of the "donor's monument" confirms the implication of Athenaeus' words that the bema was set up after the stoa and not the other way round. Athenaeus' account is rich in detail for thinking about the significance and use of the Athenian bema but before turning to that issue it is important to consider evidence for speakers' platforms being erected in the same period on other Greek agoras.

κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν γινομένων"; Livy 41.20: "Romano more, sella eburnea posita, ius dicebat disceptabatque controversias minimarum rerum".

188 See here n. 177.

189 He tells us that when Antigonos Monophthalmos' (half) brother Marsyas was the subject of a lawsuit and claimed the right to have it held in his own house, Antigonos proclaimed "It shall be in the agora with everybody listening to see whether we do any injustice" ("ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ πάντων ἀκουόντων, εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦμεν")—Plutarch *Sayings of Kings and Commanders. Moralia* 182 C. On what little is known of Marsyas see Heckel 1980 who (p. 446) accepts the veracity of Plutarch's account, at least so far as believing Marsyas really was involved in some legal dispute.

At Argos a bema was set up at around the same time as the Athenian one on the initiative of a local man, one Soikratēs, son of Menandros. The front of the bema carried a dedicatory inscription naming the benefactor, which has allowed the monument to be dated by letter type.[190] The platform was erected to be used by the agoranomoi. The excavators at Argos have connected this with the references to Antiochos IV behaving like an "agoranomos" in Polybios and Livy.[191] Notwithstanding my objections to the idea that the Syrian king could have thought of himself acting like a market inspector, the date of the structure suggests that they are right to posit that here too Roman influence was at work. Sometime in the 2nd century BC a protrusion was also added to the terrace along the front of the West Stoa at Kassope, which also looks suggestively like a speaker's platform, though to my knowledge previous scholars have not given the structure much thought.[192]

For the 1st century BC Plutarch provides evidence that Roman generals were in the habit of erecting platforms in cities that came under their control, which resonates with Athenaeus' reference to the Athenian bema and with Livy's account of Aemilius Paulus at Amphipolis. In his *Life of Pompey* Plutarch describes the great general erecting a bema in the forum of the Latin town of Auxinium, which he used to issue an edict instructing two political opponents of Rome to leave the city.[193] He also refers, on several occasions, to Pompey speaking from speakers' platforms in the eastern provinces. In his *Life of Antony* Plutarch provides an example of a Roman general conducting public business from a bema in the agora of a Greek city in the province of Asia, probably Ephesos.[194]

There is thus direct evidence for bemata being set up on the agoras of four Greek cities in the second and first centuries BC—at Antioch, Athens, Argos and whichever Greek city it was where Antony sat on his bema. We also have the possible speaker's platform at Kassope. This is not a large total yet the nature of the evidence gives reason to suppose there must have been more. Firstly, it is worth stressing that for each of the bemata for which we have certain evidence, that evidence is either literary or epigraphic. It is rare

190 Philippa-Touchais, Touchais et al. 2000, 494ff. The inscription was published previously by Vollgraff 1904, 427, no. 8 and Vollgraff 1919, 165 no. 10.

191 Philippa-Touchais, Touchais et al. 2000, 494. Piérart 2010, 27.

192 See 1.11.

193 Plutarch *Life of Pompey 6.3*.

194 Plutarch *Life of Antony* 58.6. Antony allowed himself to be distracted by Cleopatra while presiding on the platform. Cf Cassius Dio 50.5.2 where Cleopatra sits side by side with Antony in presiding over hearings.

that epigraphic or literary testimonia can be matched to excavated buildings so the likelihood that every single agora bema erected happens to have been mentioned by a surviving literary source or inscription is extremely slight. On the grounds of probability alone we would expect there to have been other bemata, which raises the pressing question of why more of them have not been discovered archaeologically.

Strikingly the only bema from the late Hellenistic period for which archaeological remains have been found is that at Athens. That platform has was identified because Athenaeus' description was so precise as to its location. It seems rather unlikely that it could have been identified correctly without that testimony. The modest remains could easily have been taken for the base of a large statue or statuary group. Bemata at other sites would be very easy to miss, particularly when archaeologists are not expecting to find them. Even at Argos the bema inscription has not been matched to any foundations. To my knowledge I am the first to suggest that the extension to the terrace at Kassope might be interpreted as a bema and to see it as part of a wider trend. Later in this chapter I will suggest that a monument at Thasos may also have been a speakers' platform though it has usually been taken to be an ornate statue base. As relatively small-scale structures, speakers' platforms would also have been easier to demolish than large buildings and could easily have been robbed out completely when they went out of use, leaving little or no trace of their existence. Furthermore, bemata need not have been made of stone at all. I have already mentioned the postholes that have been excavated on the forums of Roman colonies in Italy, some of which might have been for wooden speakers' platforms.[195] Postholes are, of course, harder to find than stone foundations and could go unnoticed on excavations.

In this light the evidence for four—possibly as many as seven if we count Kassope, Thasos and Amphipolis—bemata appearing on Greek agoras within a relatively short space of time and under direct Roman influence becomes significant. Such platforms probably were erected elsewhere in the last two centuries BC and they may even have become fairly common. In the next chapter I will argue that such platforms were also more common in Imperial times than previous scholarship has supposed. Now, it is worth considering what these new platforms might have been used for and, in particular, to think about the significance of the Athenian bema.

Athenaeus' account gives us the only indication as to what the Athenian bema was actually used for. He describes how the philosopher and dema-

195 See here pp. 161–162.

gogue Athenion mounted the platform to stir up Athenian support for joining the side of Mithridates in waging war on Rome in 88 BC. Thompson and Wycherley assumed that this assembly meeting in the agora was a unique, or at least uncommon, event.[196] It seems more likely, however, that for a short time the agora served as the regular venue meetings of the Athenian ekklesia. Epigraphic evidence shows that the Athenians had stopped using the Pnyx for their assembly meetings at some point in the Hellenistic period, probably by the early second century BC, and had begun holding them in the Theatre of Dionysus instead.[197] In Athenion's speech, however, in which he attempts to paint a sorry picture of Athens' current fortunes, he not only laments the way the Pnyx has fallen out of use but also says that the Theatre of Dionysos is no longer the venue for assembly meetings. It is striking that Athenaeus here refers to the area around the bema as the "ekklesia". This all suggests that this meeting was not an isolated event but that the agora had, for a short time at least, replaced the theatre as the venue for ekklesia meetings. The platform could have been deliberately erected for that very purpose in direct emulation of the way that voting assemblies and contiones were held on the Forum Romanum in the same period. In that case, it is easy to read symbolic meaning into what happens next in Athenaeus' story: Athenion leads the crowd to the theatre to carry on their meeting.[198] Was the return to the theatre a deliberate rejection of the new Roman way of using the agora? It is easy to see how the move could have been read in that way at the time. If the Athenian people were expecting a return to the democracy, however, they were to be sorely disappointed. In that very meeting they elected Athenion as strategos, a position he then effectively exploited to establish a short-lived tyranny over the city.[199]

The Athenian uprising against Sulla was a failure and resulted in the sack of the city, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter. Although, as I shall argue in the next chapter, there is good reason to think the bema carried on being used in some way until well into Imperial times, there is no direct evidence for its use after the 80s BC. Cicero states that the Greeks were in the habit of holding their assembly meetings in the theatre and if Athens, a city he

196 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 51: "The circumstances are exceptional and the procedure obviously somewhat irregular."

197 Around 40 inscriptions that refer to the assembly meeting in the theatre show that the meetings must have been transferred there in the second century BC—McDonald 1943, 60.

198 Athenaeus 5.213 d.

199 On Athenion's tyranny at Athens with references see Habicht 1997, 300–305.

knew well, had been exceptional in this respect he would surely have said so.[200] For the Imperial period the theatre of Dionysus is well attested as the place of assembly.[201] Michael Hoff has suggested that Pompey would have addressed the Athenians from the bema in the agora when he spoke to them during a brief stay in the city in 67 BC.[202] This is speculation but it certainly fits the habit of speaking from platforms in public spaces ascribed to Pompey by Plutarch.[203] A continued symbolic connection between the platform and Roman power is, however, suggested by a series of honorific monuments to powerful Romans that were erected in its vicinity. The first of these was to honour someone called Quintus Lutatius, who, interestingly, is probably to be identified as a known associate of Sulla who may even have been present at the sack of the city.[204] The monument consisted of an unfluted column, some 7.1 m high, carved with a simple dedication by the demos, and probably topped by a Corinthian capital, and then a statue of Quintus himself. Visually this monument must have made quite an impact on the agora—it was one of the tallest monuments there and Quintus' statue itself, if it portrayed him as a cuirassed soldier, would have stood out among the statues of hoplites, and himation clad orators. That the Athenians granted this Lutatius such an honour speaks volumes about how the political climate in the city had changed since the end of the Mithridatic War.

By the early decades of the first century AD Quintus Lutatius' monument had been joined by at least four others of similar design and all in honour of Romans: for Cocceius Balbus (c. 35 BC), Aemilius Lepidus (c. 34 BC), Cornelius Dolabella (c. 7 AD) and an unknown Roman (date also uncertain).[205] Just as monuments for fourth century Athenian generals had been set up before the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and those of Hellenistic kings seem to have clustered around the centre of the square, this area therefore seems to have been deemed

200 Cicero For *Flaccus* 16.

201 Philostratus *Life of Apollonius* 4.22; Cf Geagan 1967, 85.

202 Hoff 2005, 328. On Pompey in Athens—see Plutarch *Life of Pompey* 27.

203 Plutarch also mentions Pompey presiding over justice on a speaker's platform early in his career (*Life of Pompey* 10.3) and having his soldiers create a makeshift bema for him out of pack-saddles at Petra (ibid. 41.4–5), in contrast Plutarch tells us about the normal practice of the Roman army of using clods of earth for such platforms.

204 Thompson 1950a, 317 ff. Merrit 1954, 254 ***36***; SEG XIV, 136. 4 drums of the monument have been found more or less *in situ*.

205 IG II^2 4110, IG II^2 4115, IG II^2 4155, IG II^2 3932 respectively. These monuments are discussed by Schmalz 2000, 83–84, who points out their similarity to one another and suggests by way of an additional comparison the column of Sextus Apuleius at Claros (*Anatolian Studies* 5).

particularly appropriate for honorifics for Romans.[206] Perhaps the concentration of Roman monuments in this area might offer a partial explanation for Pausanias' well-known neglect for this part of the square in his description.[207]

It is surely no coincidence that the bema found itself amongst these monuments, or rather that they were erected in its vicinity. It was once thought that Sulla had imposed a new political system on the city; Daniel Geagan, who studied the epigraphic material, described that system as "The Athenian Constitution after Sulla".[208] Though there is no real evidence for Sulla imposing an actual constitution on the city, the first century BC certainly marks a turning point in the government of the city, characterised by a marked shift toward oligarchy.[209] The Council of the Areopagos gradually transformed itself into the ruling council of the city, and magistracies became concentrated in the hands of a few elite families. It has been demonstrated, by Geagan among others, that many members of these elite families enjoyed close relations with Rome.[210] If the bema continued in use—and there is no reason to think it did not—then perhaps we should imagine it being used by these elites in addressing the rest of the citizen population, with the column monuments serving as a reminder of the local oligarchy's close relationship with Rome.

I have emphasised the Roman influence upon the new agora bemata of the second and first centuries BC but that should not lead us to dissociate the erection of the Athenian platform from the other major transformations on and around the agora in the second century BC, at least some of which were benefactions on the part of Hellenistic kings. Disentangling Roman and Hellenistic influence at Athens in this period difficult and largely unhelpful. I have already mentioned the close association of Antiochos IV with Rome. That

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206 For the earliest statues in front of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and a discussion of the significance of the location see Shear 2007. Pausanias places several statues of Hellenistic kings in the centre of the square 1.8–1.11. John Ma assumes that these statues had been moved to make way for the Odeion of Agrippa in Augustan times—Ma 2013, 68. There is no reason to assume that they were but he is right to note that lacking archaeological or epigraphic evidence we cannot be sure if the location where Pausanias saw these statues was where they were originally set up.

207 Pausanias' attitude towards all things Roman was complex—see Elsner 1995, 140–144; Arafat 1996 *passim*; Alcock 1995; Hutton 2005, 41 ff.; Pretzler 2007, 28–30; Dickenson 2015.

208 Geagan 1967.

209 See the critical notes in Santangelo 2007, 42.

210 E.g. Geagan 1997. See also Spawforth 2012, 38–56 for a general discussion of the political position of local elites in Roman Greece with extensive references.

king acted as a benefactor to Athens, granting money for work on the Temple of Olympian Zeus, and employed a Roman architect to carry out the work. (The project was famously not actually completed until a further benefaction on the part of the Emperor Hadrian).[211] The Attalids too enjoyed close ties with Rome and had Rome to thank for a major increase of their territory after Rome's victory over Antiochos III at the Battle of Magnesia in 190 BC. Attalos II, the benefactor of the eponymous stoa on the Athenian agora, sent troops to fight alongside Mummius in his war against the Achaian League and profited by receiving artworks plundered during the sack of Corinth.[212] It is therefore not unthinkable that the "Roman" speaker's platform on the Athenian agora might have been an integral part of the mid 2nd century redevelopment plan. The construction of a platform intended to facilitate civic gatherings of some kind would certainly fit my interpretation that one of the main goals of the project was to transfer a large amount of trade away from the main agora and to place renewed emphasis on its function as a space of politics and administration with, on the west side, the bouleuterion and Tholos still functioning as the day-to-day heart of civic government, the South Square operating as a law-court complex and the open space of the main square now redeveloped as the city's ekklesia, the meeting place of the citizen assemblies.

2.6 The Stoa of Attalos—Cutting the Classical Agora in Two

The Classical Athenian agora is often characterised, in both ancient sources and modern literature as a square where different spheres of public activity jostled for space. The 4th century poet Euboulos made fun of the way that the courts and markets occupied the same space and first-hand experience of the square no doubt lay behind the recommendations of Aristotle and Xenophon to separate political and mercantile activities into separate agoras.[213] Modern scholars, unlike ancient elite authors, have tended to admire this comingling of different activities and to see it a manifestation of the vibrancy of Athenian civic life and of the agora's vitality as a public space in the Classical period.

211 Antiochos' involvement in the building is attested by Vitruvius 7. *Praef.* 15. See Camp 2001, 172–176.

212 On the increase in Pergamon's territory after Apamea see Polybios 21.43 = Austin 1981, ***200***. For Pergamene assistance at the sack of Corinth and the plunder that the city received see Pausanias 7.16.8.

213 Preserved in Athenaeus 14. 640b–c = Wycherley 1957, ***610***.

The construction of the so-called Roman Agora to the east of the old square in the early Imperial period has typically been seen as signalling the end of this situation.[214] It is worth noting what some leading scholars have said about this development:

> Inauguration of the Agora of Caesar and Augustus marked the removal from the old Classical Agora of one of its primary functions.
>
> T. LESLIE SHEAR JR.[215]

> In Athens, just one agora remained into late Hellenistic/Roman times when the Roman Agora, established in the immediate vicinity of the Ceramicus, took on its function.
>
> FRANK KOLB[216]

> The *majority of commercial activities* once carried out within the ancient center were now transferred to this alternative space (my emphases).
>
> SUSAN ALCOCK[217]

> Apparently it [the Roman Agora] served as the principal market of Athens, *taking over that commercial function* from the old agora (my emphases).
>
> JOHN CAMP[218]

Considering the force of conviction behind these statements it is perhaps surprising that the grounds for thinking that the Roman Agora did take over the market function of the old square are actually rather slight. Although the Roman Agora was almost certainly a market building, there is very little evidence for what exactly was traded there or how much of the city's commercial life it accommodated, as we shall see in the next chapter. There is also no evidence that trading on the old square completely ceased in the Roman period. Changes in the use of space cannot be as easily read in transformations to the built environment as the current consensus regarding the Roman Agora suggests. For present purposes the biggest problem with thinking that the Roman

214 For discussion of the Roman Agora see here 3.5.
215 Shear 1981, 358.
216 Kolb, Frank, "Agora." *Brill's New Pauly.* Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Brill, 2005.
217 Alcock 2002 61.
218 Camp 1986, 193.

Agora *took over* the commercial function of the Classical square is that there are good reasons for thinking that the area where it was built had long served as a marketplace. Indeed I believe that the Classical agora may well have been much larger than is generally supposed and have extended far enough east to include that area.

The idea that the area of the Roman Agora had always been a marketplace has actually been suggested by several scholars. Thompson and Wycherley hinted as much when they wrote that as a consequence of the stoa: "the ramshackle bazaar district was masked and kept in the background".[219] Michael Hoff, Dimitris Sourlas and Vasilis Evangelidis have also all suggested that the area where the Roman Agora was built was already a market area.[220] However, the case has not, to my knowledge, ever been explicitly argued; neither have the full implications of this interpretation been thoroughly explored. Surprisingly, the very same scholars who have previously made this suggestion have also been happy to accept that the construction of the Roman Agora must have transferred some activity away from the Classical agora and thereby detracted from its character as the heart of the city. The argument that I am going to set out here therefore has far-reaching ramifications for our understanding of the agora in all periods: if I am right, the Classical agora was much larger than most previous scholars have considered; it was in the Hellenistic period that a degree of separation between political and commercial space was achieved; and the Roman Agora did not take commerce away from the old agora but merely provided a more permanent architectural setting for a market at the same location where one already existed. In the next section I shall present my argument that the area to the east of the Stoa of Attalos was a commercial agora in the late Hellenistic period. First, however, it is essential to make the case that the Classical agora originally encompassed that area.

The western edge of the Classical Athenian agora could not be clearer. Initially defined by the slope of the Kolonos Agoraios, in the early fifth century it

219 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 172. Also p. 171: "the strongest reason for assuming that a large part of the market of Athens was situated here is that when eventually great market halls were built the most important of them was placed to the east of the old Agora." Note that formulation still implies that only the western half is to be thought of as properly part of the "old agora".

220 Hoff 2001, 583; Hoff 1989, 1. (However, Cf Hoff 1988, 60 where Hoff seems to have subscribed to the idea that the erection of the Roman Agora meant the transfer of commercial activity out of the old square: "The commercial activity, once the heart of the old Agora, thus finds a new home in the Augustan Market"); Sourlas 2008, 99; Evangelidis 2014, 341.

was demarcated by boundary stones (two of which have been found *in situ*);[221] it soon came to be lined by the row of public buildings that have been revealed by the excavations. The eastern edge has, however, never been determined. No boundary stones have been found on that side of the square. Some scholars have assumed that the Panathenaic Way had originally served as the eastern edge of the square but there are several problems with this idea.[222] Firstly, if the Panathenaic Way did mark the eastern edge of the agora, this would mean that the annual Panathenaic procession would have skirted the edge of the square; that is not impossible but it surely seems easier to imagine the procession passing through the middle of a space lined with crowds of spectators on either side. A more serious problem is that a road in itself cannot constitute a barrier. Unless there were buildings lining the Panathenaic Way the open space of the agora must have continued to the east of it until it reached some obstacle, whether natural or man-made.

In the north we can be sure that the agora certainly did extend to the east of the Panathenaic Way because buildings have been discovered there that are known from literary sources to have belonged to the agora: the Painted Stoa and the law-courts (buildings A–D, and their late fourth century replacement, the Square Peristyle). Wolfram Hoepfner has recently presented a reconstruction plan of the Classical agora which shows open space to the east of the Panathenaic Way only in the northern half of the square—the area where these buildings stood (see Figure 22).[223] Further south, on Hoepfner's plan, the road defines the eastern edge and is shown lined with shops. These shops are purely hypothetical. No evidence for them has been found. Presumably Hoepfner imagines these to have been flimsy, possibly wooden, structures that have left no trace in the archaeological record. This, however, is an inelegant solution to a problem that does not exist. There is no good reason to think that the Panathenaic Way ever was the eastern boundary of the square.

The earliest building that has actually been found in the eastern half of the excavated area is a small structure, the so-called Brick Building, discovered beneath the colonnade of the Stoa of Attalos, in front of shops 8 and 9 of that

221 On which see I.1.

222 E.g. Martin 1951, 314–316 and recently Hoepfner 2006. The Classical agora would thus have had an approximately triangular shape and have covered an area of approximately 25,000 m^2. The erection of the Stoa of Attalos would thus have extended the area slightly to the east. The contemporaneous loss of the South Square would have meant a net reduction in the total amount of open space to a little over 23,000 m^2.

223 Hoepfner 2006 fig. 15.

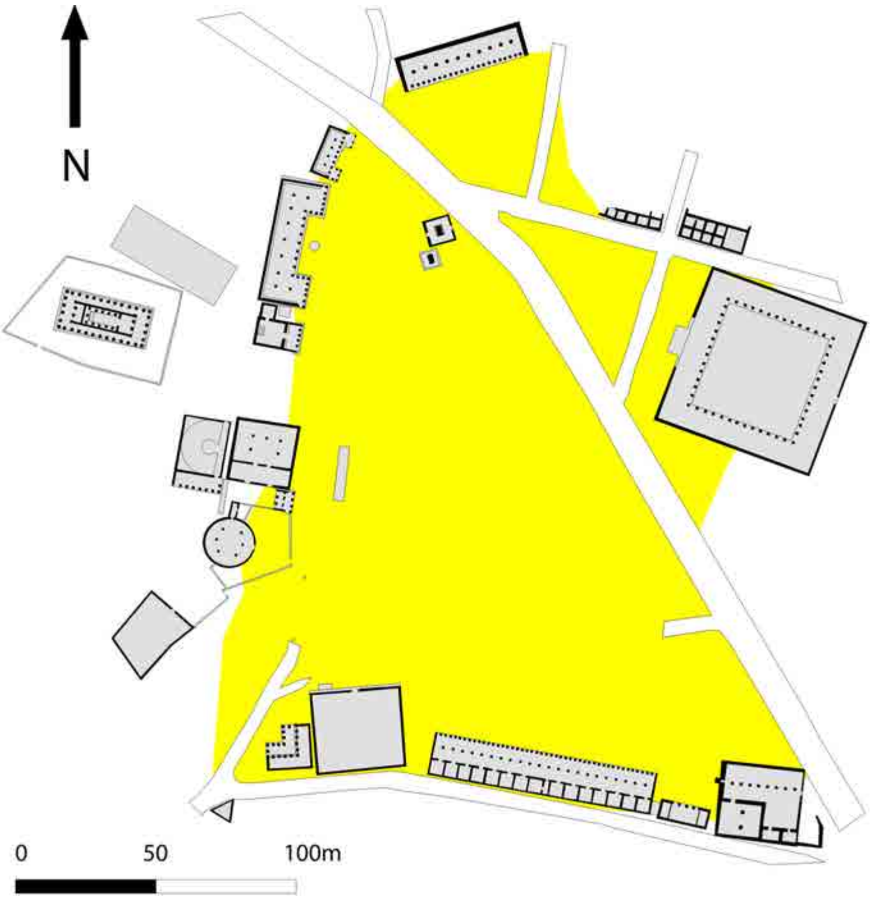

FIGURE 22 *The supposed extent of the Classical Athenian agora according to Hoepfner (c.4 ha)*

building.[224] The building is considerably further south than the law court buildings and further back from the Panathenaic Way than Hoepfner's hypothetical shops. It therefore seems reasonable to think that at the time of the building's erection—a generation or so before the Stoa of Attalos was built—the agora extended at least this far east and included at least the entire northeast part of the excavated area. The Brick Building consisted of a row of 5 rooms, or shops. It measured a mere 28.40 m × 9.48 m, was oriented east-west and faced north. It was only used for a short time before it was demolished to make way for the Stoa of Attalos and might never have been intended as a permanent structure.

224 On this building: Townsend 1995, 107 ff.; Thompson 1950a, 320 and Thompson 1952b, 101. It was dated by pottery to the first half of the second century BC—Townsend 1995, 111.

Although the small shop-like rooms suggest it might have been a commercial establishment, it is possible that it was purpose-built for use in some way by the construction workers during the larger redevelopment project.[225] Whatever its function, the building was far too small and faced in the wrong direction to be thought of as the eastern boundary of the square. It seems most likely that it was erected within an area of open space and that the agora had originally continued even further east. The discovery of rows of shops in the northeast and southeast of the excavated area supports this interpretation, although their significance in this respect has yet to be appreciated.

The excavators of the site were, for a long time, puzzled by the lack of evidence for commerce on the agora even though trading was so well attested in the literary sources.[226] The only shop that had been found was the premises of "Simon" the cobbler, just outside the limits of the square nestled in against one of the southwest boundary stones.[227] Of course a lot of trading was probably done from temporary wooden stalls, which have left no trace in the archaeological record, but some more permanent shops were also to be expected.[228] Then, in the early 1970s two rows of buildings were found behind the law courts on the northeast of the square, facing south and interpreted as shops.[229] The construction of these buildings was dated to the sixth century BC. Although

225 Virginia Grace once suggested that it might have been a storage shed for the pieces of the dismantled Square Peristyle Building—Grace 1985, 39. Townsend argues convincingly (1995, 112 n. 7) that the building's layout was unsuitable for that purpose. He points to small amounts of slag as possible evidence that it was a metalworking enterprise. On the basis of larger quantities of eating and drinking wares associated with the building he suggests, however, that the building was a dining establishment. In that case it is tempting to think that it was created to cater to the workforce who were busy constructing the new stoas. Even if metalworking did take place in the building it could have been a place of production for building tools.

226 Wycherley 1957 p. 193 ff. Industrial activity—pottery and coroplast production, metalworking, sculpting—was amply attested in areas surrounding the agora—Camp 1986, 135 ff. That is, however, not the same thing as the trade which was to be expected *within* the agora.

227 See Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 174; Camp 1986, 145–146. The site has yielded convincing evidence for shoe making and pottery inscribed with the name of Simon in the genitive, all dating to the late fifth century. It is thus tempting to think that this might have been the very Simon who literary sources record as a friend of Sokrates. See the authors cited here for literary references.

228 For literary evidence for temporary booths, or *skenai*, see Wycherley 1957 p. 190 ff.

229 Shear Jr. 1971, 265 ff.; Shear Jr. 1973a, 138 ff. The buildings have been studied in the unpublished PhD dissertation by Milbank 2002.

they underwent some renovations in the second century BC and were damaged in the Sullan attack, there is evidence that they remained standing until the second century AD when they were levelled to make way for the Hadrianic Basilica.[230] These fairly unassuming structures therefore marked that edge of the square for nearly 800 years.[231] These Northeast Shops are within what Hoepfner and others would see as the limits of the Classical agora and are therefore not direct evidence that the agora extended beyond that area. Their orientation, however, suggests that it did, as I shall argue in a moment.

Proof that the agora must have extended further east came with the discovery of a second row of shops, just two years after the first. These new shops were found beneath the first century AD colonnade that lined the southern side of the street connecting the agora with the Roman Agora to the east (see Figure 23).[232] The structures were dated to the fourth century BC. The northeast shops had only produced evidence for iron and marble working—a small fraction of the wide range of commodities that are known to have been traded in the square from the literary sources.[233] A well in the vicinity of the southeast shops yielded abundant evidence for a very different kind of commercial activity: (716 (!) boxes' worth of) pottery (including large amounts of cooking ware), fish bones and shellfish shells, wine amphorae (for both local and imported vintages), and great quantities of bones of cattle, pigs, sheep and goats; pig skulls, which had been scraped out for their brains, were particularly plentiful. All in all it seems like these must have been eating and drinking establishments. Perhaps these are some of the very shops referred to in a late second century BC inscription that mentions workshops, wine shops, taverns and storehouses.[234] The shops were damaged in Sulla's assault on the city and were left standing

230 On the second century rebuilding see Shear Jr. 1973a, 141; on the Sullan damage and subsequent use p. 142. On the basilica see here 4.7.

231 On Hoepfner's map (see n. 223 above) the shaded area that he thinks of as the agora follows the line of these northeast shops but the buildings themselves are not shown. This is rather strange considering that purely hypothetical shops are depicted along the southern part of the Panathenaic Way, drawn with dotted lines.

232 Shear Jr. 1975; on the pottery see 356–357, fish and shells, 357, wine vases of Attic, Mendian, Chian, Corinthian, Samian and Lesbian wine, 357, animal bones, 359. Some of the bone also showed evidence of being worked to serve as tools. See also Camp 1986, 143–145. Note—the location shown on Figure 23 is approximate but the scale is accurate. The published plan in Shear Jr. 1975 does not provide any point of reference to anchor them in relation to the agora. They are, however, explicitly placed directly beneath the later stoa that lined the southern side of the street.

233 See n. 213.

234 Day 1942, 41, 111—IG II–III^2 1013.

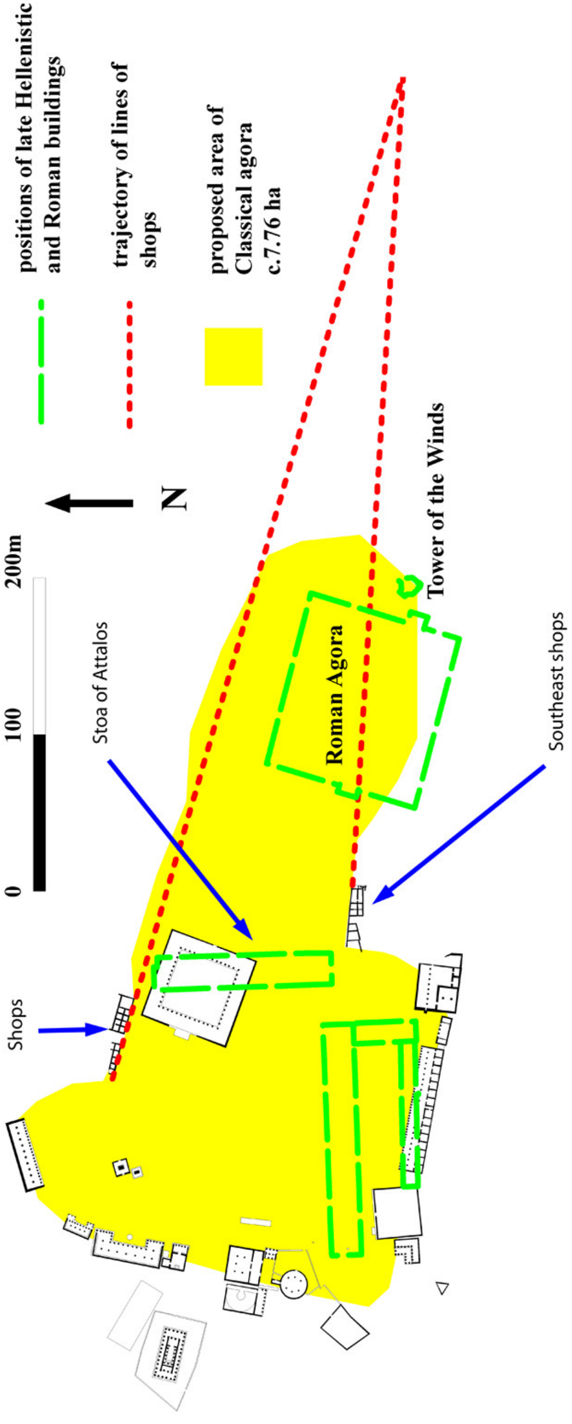

FIGURE 23 *My suggestion for the extent of the Classical Athenian agora*

in a ruined state until they were demolished some time after the Roman Agora was built.[235] Reporting on this discovery T. Leslie Shear Jr wrote:

> It is precisely the picture of the market district which we should expect to find, and which has been so conspicuous by its absence from the main square of the Classical agora to the west.[236]

The unavoidable conclusion, which Shear seems here to accept, is that these shops must have been part of the agora in the Classical period and that the agora did indeed originally extend further east than the Stoa of Attalos.

The full extent of the agora remains a matter of speculation. The puzzle could only be solved by extensive excavation, which would necessitate the unwelcome demolition of large parts of the modern districts of Plaka and Monastiraki, or through the discovery of eastern boundary stones *in situ*. A hint as to its full dimensions is, however, suggested by the orientation of northeast and southeast shops. Both bordered streets. If the lines of these streets are extended they converge some distance to the east of the area where the Roman Agora would come to be built (see Figure 23). There is little archaeological evidence for structures beneath the Roman Agora, at least for the Classical period. Recent excavations have unearthed two buildings beneath the western wing but these have been dated to the Hellenistic period and may well, therefore, post-date the Stoa of Attalos.[237] They seem to have been built in an area of mostly open space. There is therefore every reason to think that the Classical agora had originally extended as far as, and included, the area of the later Roman Agora. Immediately to the east of the Roman Agora, towards its south side, was the summit of an ancient hill, some 20 m higher than the Stoa of Attalos, where the Tower of the Winds now stands.[238] Perhaps this natural rise had originally defined the south-eastern limit of the agora much as the Kolonos Agoraios had on the west side. If I am right, this eastern area had originally been a part of the Classical agora and only became separated from that space by the erection of the Stoa of Attalos. To make that case it is now important to place the new Hellenistic building works on the main square in the context of other contemporary building projects to the east of the Stoa of Attalos.

235 Shear Jr. 1975, 353–355.

236 Shear Jr. 1975, 360.

237 Sourlas 2008, 107 ff. One of these buildings might have been a house, the other a larger building, though only the foundations remain.

238 Kienast 1997, 60 n. 31.

2.7 A Commercial Agora in Late Hellenistic Athens

The location of the Roman Agora provides the first good reason for thinking that the area to the east of the Stoa of Attalos already served as a marketplace before its construction. The obvious place to have chosen to build the new market building would have been an area where a food market was already being held. We have seen that the building seems to have been erected in an area of open space and that Michael Hoff, Dimitris Sourlas and Thompson and Wycherley have all surmised that this had always been a market area.[239] I shall argue here that far from removing trade from the old agora, as has often been assumed, the Roman Agora simply provided more permanent architectural accommodation for a market which had been held on that site for at least a century, if not much longer. There are several considerations that support this interpretation.

In the first place there is the continued use of the southeast shops. It is surprising that Shear, the man who discovered the shops, has also been one of the scholars who has most strongly voiced the opinion that the Roman Agora signalled the end of the old agora as a marketplace. He even uses these shops to support his argument. He refers to the demolition of the shops in connection with the erection of the Roman Agora as a "clear indication of the intention to remove commercial establishments from the Classical Agora".[240] This interpretation is consistent with Shear's overall vision of the redevelopment of the early Imperial period and the transformation of Athens' urban centre as symptomatic of civic decline.[241] The interpretation does not, however, fit the evidence. The shops had become separated from the main agora square by the erection of the Stoa of Attalos over a century before the Roman Agora was constructed. They can hardly be thought of as part of the old agora after that time. As mentioned above, the shops continued in use after the stoa's erection. It was the erection of the stoa that excluded these shops from the main agora. This can only have been a deliberate consideration behind the building's erection. These shops, therefore, provide the first indication that the eastern area was set aside as a commercial market, separate from the main civic agora, in the second century BC.

The second reason to think that this area was a already a commercial market in the late Hellenistic period has to do with a building that still stands in the

239 See here p. 172.

240 Shear 1981, 359.

241 For another challenge to Shear's vision see the discussion of the fate of the bema under the Empire in 3.12–3.15.

area, and which is now thought to have been constructed around the same time as the Stoa of Attalos—one of the best preserved, yet most enigmatic of the monuments of ancient Athens, the so-called Tower of the Winds (Figure 24).[242] This building, an octagonal marble tower c. 14 m tall is referred to by both Vitruvius and Varro.[243] Both authors are mainly interested in the weather vane that had originally topped its roof. The eight faces of the building were decorated at their top with friezes depicting personifications of the eight winds, all with suitable attributes, indicating the direction that the weather vane turned to face. The word Varro uses for the tower, "*horologion*", makes clear that the building also had another function: it was a clock.[244] The building featured sundials on each of its eight faces and one on the round annex on its southern side.[245] A water clock inside the building fed by a large tank on the north, made it possible to tell the time on cloudy days.[246] Vitruvius names the building's architect as one Andronikos of Kyrrhos and Varro confirms it was made by a man from Kyrrhos.[247]

The name Andronikos of Kyrrhos also appears in an inscription on a sundial from Tenos, which makes it very likely that both projects were by the same man.[248] An inscription found at Athens and dating to c. 30 BC, which refers to the restoration of the "so-called house of Kyrrestos" (a synonym for Kyrrhos) is generally accepted as referring to the tower.[249] Dating the Tower of the Winds has proved contentious, largely because there are no parallels for such

242 For modern discussions of the building see Kienast 1997; Robinson 1943; von Freeden 1983; a good summary is to be found in Camp 1986, 176–180.

243 Varro On Rustic Affairs 3.5.17; Vitruvius 1.6.4.

244 Ibid.: "ut Athenis in horologio (sic), quod fecit Cyrrhestes".

245 Stuart and Revett measured the sundials on the south, east, southeast, northeast and northwest faces of the building in the 18th century. Their measurements are given in the fullest study of ancient sundials by Gibbs 1976, 34–35. Gibbs remarks (ibid., 45) that those on the north and south faces of the Tower of the Winds are the only accurate prime vertical sundials known from antiquity. Robert Hannah refers to the complex mathematics that lay behind them (2009, 92). Kienast (1997, 59) describes them as "the earliest surviving monumental wall-clocks" and comments that they must have required a "high degree of know-how". The functionality of the sundials has also been discussed by Robinson 1943 and by Noble and de Solla Price 1968. Robinson (1943, 293 n. 7) also refers to some 19th century studies of the sundials.

246 Considered by Noble and de Solla Price 1968.

247 Ibid. n. 698.

248 IG XII 5.891.

249 IG II^2 1035 l. 54: "οἰκίαν τὴν λεγομ[έ]νην Κυρρήστου". On the dating of the inscription see Habicht 1996, 85 and Kienast 1997, n. 29.b.

a structure and because this Andronikos is otherwise unknown. There have been proponents of both Hellenistic and Roman dates.[250] Hermann Kienast in the fullest consideration of the problem has argued for a mid 2nd century date, largely on the grounds that a late first century BC repair would have been unlikely unless the building were considerably older than that.[251] For what it is worth Vitruvius' description of the building, written in the early 30s BC also does not feel as though he is talking about a new building. The suggestion of a Hellenistic date has led to speculation that the building might have been another royal benefaction—possibly a gift on the part of one of the Ptolemies because Alexandria is known to have been a leading centre in water-clock technology at that time.[252] The Egyptian connection cannot be proven but the second century BC was certainly a time when the Ptolemies, Attalids and Seleukids were all bestowing benefactions upon Athens in what John Camp has called a "healthy spirit of rivalry".[253] That climate of royal competition focused on Athens certainly provides a plausible context in which to imagine the Tower of the Winds being erected. All in all, a Hellenistic date for the Tower of the Winds is likely, which is important for present purposes because it means that the building was probably constructed at around the same time as the redevelopments of the main agora to the west that I discussed above. It is important to consider the building as part of a larger plan to redesign the civic centre of Athens at that time.

Kienast has argued that the location chosen for the Tower of the Winds had no significance except that it was on relatively high ground.[254] He suggests that it was an odd spot for a structure that we might expect to have been erected in the "Greek agora". There is, however, good reason to think that the decision

250 Joachim von Freeden dated it to 150–125 BC—von Freeden 1983, 145 ff.; Cf Smith 1985. For earlier suggestions that the building might have been slightly younger (c. 100 BC) see Kienast 1997, n. 29. Such an early date was rejected by Robinson 1984 who suggested that the building was paid for with the 50 talents that Plutarch tells us Pompey gave to the city (*Life of Pompey* 42.6). There is, however, nothing to connect Pompey with the Tower of the Winds. It seems more likely that his money paid for the "deigma of Magnus" at Piraeus attested epigraphically (IG II–III^2 1035 l. 47)—see here 3.6.

251 Kienast 1993, Kienast 1997, 60–61 and now, most fully, Kienast 2014, esp Ch 6. Kienast's position is accepted by Camp 1986, 176. At least by the year that Kienast's second article was published, Christian Habicht was still clinging to the first century date—Habicht 1997, 336–337.

252 Camp 1986, 179. The idea that it might have been a benefaction is also suggested by Shipley 2000, 88–89.

253 Camp 2001, 170.

254 Kienast 1997, 60 and notes 31 and 32.

not to set it up in the (western) agora was deliberate and had to do with the decision to shift the commercial market to the new eastern area. From the fourth century a public water clock had stood against the north wall of the Aiakeion, in the old agora.[255] The excavations have shown that this clock went out of use when that area became part of the new South Square.[256] Surely it cannot be a coincidence that the old clock became defunct at near enough the same time that the new one was constructed. The timing suggests that the Tower of the Winds was intended to replace the old water clock at Athens. The fact that the new clock was situated at some considerable distance to the east and on the other side of the Stoa of Attalos from the old Classical clock suggests that some activity that had taken place on the old Classical agora was at this time transferred to the new eastern area.

We do not know why the Classical Athenians needed a clock on their agora[257]—most Greek cities appear to have managed perfectly well without one. There are few parallels for public water clocks in ancient poleis but it must be significant that at least four others can also be securely located either on, or near, an agora.[258] Two are mentioned in a second century BC inscription from Samos: one was said to have been set up near the "*archeion*" (presumably political offices), the other in some other public building.[259] The third is a horologion (the same word Varro uses for the Tower of the Winds) mentioned in a mid first century BC inscription from Ephesos as standing in the middle of the agora.[260] Finally a "horologin" (sic) is attested epigraphically at Philippi as having stood near the agora, though the inscription dates to the second–

255 It was erected in the fourth century BC and modified in the third—Thompson 1954b, 37–38; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 65 and 202; Camp 1986, 157–159. See also Armstrong and Camp 1977 and Camp 1999, 257–260 on the discovery of the water pipe that fed the clock.

256 Camp 1986, 177; Armstrong and Camp 1977, 151.

257 It was once thought to have had something to do with the law courts—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 65—but that was purely because the Aiakeion was at the time thought to be the Heliaia, one of the city's most important law courts.

258 The closest parallel to the clock on the Athenian agora is one found at Oropos. The latter clock is so similar that it was almost certainly created by the same architect—Camp 1986, 157. For a good overview of all known sundials and other time measuring devices from the ancient world see Hannah 2009, Chs 4 and 5.

259 See Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 202 n. 55 for references.

260 *Ephesos* 304. It was once thought that the foundations of this building had been found but it has now been established that these remains probably belong to a late antique building—Scherrer 2000, 144.

FIGURE 24 *The Tower of the Winds seen from the northeast*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

third century AD, making this clock much later.[261] The fact that the first clock at Samos stood near the "archeion" might seem to suggest that it had a political function, perhaps regulating the times of meetings. The Classical clock at Athens was located near the political buildings on the western edge and was also, as John Camp has pointed out, near the exit of the square that led to the Pnyx.[262] However, we should not be too hasty in assuming that this, or any of these public clocks, must have had a political function.

The clock at Samos might have been positioned near the political offices simply because this was a highly visible part of the square. The inscription could merely be stating a topographical fact. Even if these clocks were intended to remind people of events in the political life of their cities, such as meetings or legal hearings, their intended audience would presumably have been the entire citizen body, a group that would have overlapped to a large degree with the traders and shoppers of the agora. It is arguably the fact that the clocks were set up *somewhere* within the agora and not their precise location with the square, that is most significant. It is quite possible that the clocks had nothing to do with politics at all but were instead intended to regulate the rhythms of the trading day. The inscription from Ephesos is a building dedication by an agoranomos, which mentions the clock as the location where the inscription is to be set up. Considering that the magistrate here was the man responsible for overseeing trade in the city, it seems likely that it was the commercial, rather than the possibly political function of the agora that determined the location of both inscription and clock.[263] The Tower of the Wind's function therefore gives further reason to think that the area in which it was set up was indeed a market square. Its weather vane too may have served a useful function for traders and customers in providing some indication of sailing conditions and the likelihood of produce arriving by sea.

It is clear enough that the area to the west of the Stoa of Attalos continued to be the main centre of politics and administration in Athens. The Royal Stoa, Bouleuterion and Tholos all remained in use throughout Roman Imperial times.[264] Then there is the bema, which was built within six decades of the Stoa of Attalos, though potentially much earlier, and was clearly used for public gatherings of some kind on the old agora. I have also argued that the South Square was most likely to have been a political complex, accommodating law courts and/or other administrative functions. It is surely significant that the

261 Lemerle 1936 l. 15. Lemerle notes (p. 339) that the clock itself has not been discovered.

262 Armstrong and Camp 1977, 151; Camp 1986, 157.

263 On the functions of *agoranomoi* see Migeotte 2005; Bresson 2008, 23 ff.

264 See here 3.11 and 4.7.

old clock went out of use at the very time that the space in which it stood became cut off from the main square by the Middle Stoa. The reasons for thinking that public clocks were associated with trade add further weight to my argument that the South Square cannot have been a market building. If it had had a commercial function it would have made sense to continue using the old Aiakeion clock. The fact that the old clock went out of use suggests that the South Square was no longer being used in the same way that that part of the agora had been in the previous two centuries. If the Tower of the Winds was a replacement for the fourth century clock and, as such, signalled some transfer of function from the old agora to the eastern area, then the clear importance of politics to the old square makes it hard to see what function other than trade could have been moved.

Before leaving the area to the east of the Stoa of Attalos it is worth briefly considering another major building project carried out there in the mid second century BC. Very near to the Tower of the Winds, a large stoa has been partially excavated. The stoa stretched away from that point for some 170–180 m to the east alongside the road that would later serve as the approach to the Roman Agora from the east. The ruins of this stoa are insubstantial but enough remains to show that it had certain similarities with the Stoa of Attalos and may, therefore, also have been a Pergamene benefaction.[265] It therefore seems clear enough that the new buildings on the old agora—the Stoa of Attalos, the Middle Stoa, South Stoa II, the East Building and Metroon—were part of a larger project of urban redevelopment. The Gymnasium of Ptolemy, known from literary sources to have stood in this general vicinity but as yet unknown to archaeology, was probably also constructed at around this time.[266]

We have already seen that the three new stoas on the old agora were erected according to a carefully coordinated overall plan. One of the concerns behind

265 Schmalz 2000, 154 n. 153; Travlos 1971, 218–236. Elements of this stoa have been found reused in later restorations of the Asklepieion and the Parthenon—Korres 1994.

266 The Gymnasium of Ptolemy is mentioned by Pausanias (1.17.2) as between the "agora" and the Theseion. Plutarch also locates the Theseion next to a gymnasium (*Life of Theseus* 36.2). The gymnasium was probably near, or incorporated, a slightly earlier building, the Diogeneion erected in honour of an Athenian general of the 220s; on which, see Habicht 1997, 179–180. This building is amply attested in Hellenistic inscriptions. The locations of both buildings is highly controversial. Debate centres on what Pausanias means by "agora" (see here Introduction n. 30) and whether certain inscriptions relating to the Theseion and Diogeneion have been found anywhere near where these buildings had stood. See Miller 1995a for a good discussion of the evidence and a generally convincing solution to this topographical problem. Cf Robertson 1998.

that plan—though not one that has been recognised before now—was to achieve a degree of specialisation in function between the areas to the west and east of the Stoa of Attalos. Public buildings to the east of that building—the Pergamene Stoa, the Tower of the Winds and, quite possibly other buildings unknown to us—must have played an integral and important part in that plan.

2.8 The Separation of Politics and Commerce in Hellenistic Athens—Some Final Considerations

I have dealt with the Hellenistic redevelopment of the Athenian agora at length because my interpretation is very different from any which have previously appeared in print. It is worth reiterating my main points briefly. Firstly, I have argued that the Athenian agora in Classical times was far larger than the area covered by the modern excavations. It extended a considerable distance to the east, following the lines of the southeast and northeast shops and encompassing the area of the later Roman Agora. The new buildings that were erected in the mid second century BC radically altered this situation. The Stoa of Attalos cut the area into two unequal halves effectively dividing the old Classical agora into two agoras. It was now, and not in the early Imperial period, that a large amount of commercial activity was transferred out of the old agora to the eastern area. The South Square, located within the west agora was not a market building but more likely a complex housing law courts and catering to some of the administrative needs of the city. With these developments Athens joined those Greek cities elsewhere that had two separate agoras at that time.[267] I have argued above that a rather similar development took place at Messene at the turn of the second century BC. In the next section I will argue that the agora of Thasos also underwent a remarkably similar transformation at a slightly later date. Before leaving Athens, however, there are two important issues that still need to be discussed.

Firstly, it is worth stressing just how radically new for Athens the division of politics and commerce achieved in the second century BC was. Markus Kohl has argued that a dividing line between a more commercial and a more political area had always existed on the Athenian agora—the Panathenaic Way, with politics to its west and trade to its east.[268] This interpretation, however, makes little sense. While it is true that most Classical commercial establishments have

267 On separate agoras in earlier Hellenistic times see here—1.3.

268 Kohl 2001, 259.

been found to the east of that road, some are also known on the other side of it. The "House of Simon the Cobbler" was positioned right up against one of the southwest boundary stones and was thus extremely near to some of the city's most important buildings, such as the bouleuterion and the Tholos.[269] Recent excavations in the nearby building once thought to be the "*strategeion*" have also led to speculation that it too might actually have been a commercial establishment.[270] If Kohl's interpretation was right it would also mean that there was something rather odd about Xenophon and Aristotle's recommendations that a city should have separate agoras for politics and commerce. These authors, the one an Athenian citizen, the other a resident alien, would hardly have had to point to Persia or Thessaly as examples of how public space should be organised if the division they had in mind already existed at Athens. Euboulos was surely right that in Classical times life on the Athenian agora was a heady mix of political and commercial activity. The Hellenistic transformations therefore marked a dramatic departure from the way that public space in the city had been used since the early fifth century BC.

At the same time, however, it is important to stress that even after the Hellenistic transformations there is no reason to think that the separation between commerce and politics at Athens ever became absolute. J.J. Coulton is right to point out that the distinction between commercial and political agoras remained blurred at most Greek cities.[271] At Athens, certain types of trade were always allowed to remain within the western square, which makes it important to consider what can be said about what was permitted and what was not. The shops at the northeast of the square were allowed to remain standing, and now that the Square Peristyle Building was gone they became more prominent as they would now have been visible from within the square. The Hellenistic and early Roman levels have produced evidence that these shops were used after that time for iron and marble working.[272] As mentioned above, it is clear that they underwent extensive renovations in the second century BC, which destroyed any earlier evidence for use so whether they had been used for a different purpose in earlier times is impossible to say. We can, however, be sure that stone and metal working remained welcome in the old square. There is also general agreement that the Stoa of Attalos must have been a commercial building, with the rooms at its rear interpreted as shops.[273] The doors of these

269 On that house see here p. 175.

270 Camp 2007, 657 ff.

271 Coulton 1976, 173–175.

272 Shear Jr. 1973a, 140.

273 Camp 1986, 172 ff.; Thompson 1971; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 107. Thompson and

shops were all lockable. This concern for security suggests, as Thompson and Wycherley and Camp have argued, that the types of commodities sold there must have been valuable; they suggest merchandise such as perfumes and spices.[274] It is also possible that the Stoa might have accommodated some of the bankers who are associated in literary sources with agoras, not only at Athens, but throughout the Greek world.[275]

The type of commerce for which the southeast shops have produced evidence—eating and drinking—was apparently far less welcome. The best evidence we have for the use of the later Roman Agora is that it was a food market, which also suggests that this was what the area was being used for prior to its construction. It might also be significant that Simon's descendants forfeited their shoe shop when it was demolished to make way for the Middle Stoa.

In late Hellenistic Athens it is clear that whatever was sold in the Stoa of Attalos, it was deemed a more respectable trade, and was more welcome in the main civic agora, than the sale of wine and pigs brains, and possibly shoes. It is impossible to be sure whether temporary stalls were still allowed within the old agora but it seems likely that those for selling produce and meat were from now on restricted to the area to the east of the Stoa of Attalos.

Wycherley point to the possible significance of a small carving of Hermes, the god of business, on a doorjamb of one of the shops. Marcus Kohl has argued that it must have been a replacement for the South Stoa I, which he sees as a commercial building—Kohl 2001, 256. Note my comments on that interpretation here—1.4. The Stoa of Attalos certainly did not have rooms with off-centre doorways like those found in South Stoa I and there is therefore no reason to think that its rooms were used for public dining. Kohl also argues (p. 257 and n. 100) that the fountain house constructed at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos was intended to replace the old Southeast Fountain House, which was now isolated from the main square. For him this is yet another reason to think that the new stoa served to replace the old South Stoa I. However the Southeast Fountain house remained in use, even if it was less easy to access and people within the main square could still make use of the Southwest Fountain House. The Stoa of Attalos fountain was on a much smaller scale and is better interpreted as augmenting the existing water supply of the square than as a replacement for the older fountain.

274 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 107; Camp 1986, 172. Dorothy Thompson suggested that "the rooms may also have served as offices for ship owners, merchants, or bankers, as in the market buildings of Ostia, the harbour town of Rome."—Thompson 1971.

275 Bankers: Vitruvius 5.2.2. Plutarch *On Compliancy*. *Moralia* 533B. Money lenders: Plutarch *Precepts of Statecraft*. *Moralia* 819E and *That we ought not to borrow*. *Moralia*. 828F–829A; Money changers: Theophrastos *Characters* (*On Obsequiousness*) 5.7.1; Dio Chrysostom 54.3.3–5.

2.9 The Redevelopment of the Agora at Thasos

By the end of the first century BC the agora of Thasos had undergone a transformation just as far reaching as that at Athens. In the early Hellenistic period, as we have seen the agora was a fairly loosely organised space, defined on its northern edge by a monumental stoa, the south by an outward facing row of shops and the east side by the probable bouleuterion, the Parascenic Building and the third century stoa, which fronted the magisterial offices.[276] The excavations have shown that the agora was eventually completely enclosed with connecting colonnades running all around the southeast, southwest and northwest edges. For a long time it was thought that this state of affairs was achieved by the addition of stoas along the southeast and southwest sides of the agora in fairly short succession at the beginning of the Imperial period.[277] Recently that opinion has been challenged by Jean-Yves Marc who has pushed the date of certain building projects back into the Hellenistic period.[278] The picture that emerges from his new dates is of a more gradual enclosure of the agora spread out across several generations (see Figure 25; Cf Figure 12).

The stoas on the southeast and southwest sides of the agora were dated by the original excavators to around 50 AD.[279] Marc argues that this date was born of a mixture of wishful thinking and some rather circumstantial evidence. In the first place he argues that the assumption that this must have been a unified scheme led to too much emphasis being placed on the relationship seen between the various elements in the reconstructed plan and not enough on examination of the actual remains. The only real evidence used to date the stoas was a mid first century AD honorific inscription found in the southern corner of the agora. The inscription mentions the erection of a stoa by two brothers and the setting up of a heroon to these benefactors behind that building.[280] The stoa in the inscription was assumed to be the southwest stoa because the inscription was found nearby; the apsidal hall behind it, where a statue of the Emperor Hadrian was discovered, was interpreted as the heroon.[281] Marc points out that the inscription's find spot might not be anywhere near where it had originally been set up; he argues furthermore that even if it had been

276 See 1.4 and 1.6.

277 Grandjean and Salviat 2000; Accepted by Coulton 1976, 174.

278 Marc 2001.

279 Martin 1951, 390–391; Martin 1959, 76.

280 Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, ***192***, 93–99.

281 Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 92 n. 2, following up a suggestion of F. Salviat—Salviat 1956, 413.

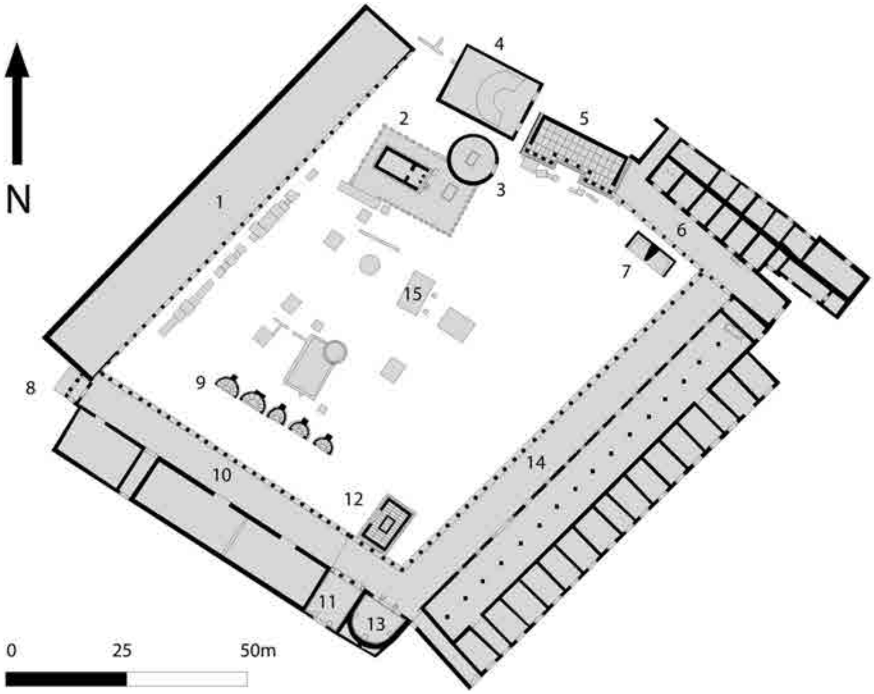

FIGURE 25 *The agora of Thasos in the 2nd century* AD (*showing the new 1st c* BC *buildings*) (*1. Northwest Stoa, 2. Sanctuary of Zeus Agoraios Thasios, 3. Circular Enclosure, 4. Bouleuterion*(*?*)*, 5. Parscenic Building, 6. Northwest Stoa and Magisterial Offices, 7. Prow Monument, 8. Propylon, 9. Exedras, 10. Southwest Stoa, 11. Monumental Entrance, 12. Grand Altar, 13. Apsidal Hall, 14. Bent Stoa*)

set up in the agora it could still refer to a stoa and heroon elsewhere. The inscription also mentions a distribution of oil, which leads Marc to suggest that the stoa in question might have stood in one of the city's gymnasia. The inscription, in short, does not provide sufficient reason to date the agora stoa to the early Imperial period. Marc's interpretation is that the building was actually constructed much earlier, in the second century BC.

Marc's basic argument is convincing though certain aspects of it do not hold up to scrutiny. He claims, for example, that the erection of the southwest stoa must have preceded the row of late Hellenistic exedra monuments that faced it because the two are clearly aligned with each other.[282] However, the exedras are placed along the line of approach to the Grand Altar in the southern corner of the square; the altar has been dated to the third century BC, which means that it, rather than the stoa, could explain the alignment of the exedras.

282 Marc 2001, 502–504.

A more fundamental problem is that some of Marc's interpretations depend heavily on his vision of broader trends in agora development. He suggests, for instance, that it is likely that the stoa that closed off the last open side of the agora, the south side, was built in the Hellenistic period because that was when agoras elsewhere were becoming increasingly enclosed. The obvious problem here is that comparative research into Greek agoras in Hellenistic times has been rather thin on the ground, as Marc himself admits.[283] It has, however, long been clear that not all agoras became completely enclosed in the Hellenistic period. Thanks to Pausanias' famous description, it is well known that the agora of Elis remained open and loosely organised down to the second century AD. If the pace and extent of enclosure varied greatly from city to city then we cannot make *a priori* assumptions about when enclosure occurred at Thasos. Marc argues in a similar vein that freestanding stoas were rarely constructed in Imperial times and that this also makes it likely that the south stoa at Thasos is earlier.[284] However, several new stoas are known to have been built in the Greek world under the Empire, which means that we cannot rule out that this one might have been.[285] In interpreting individual sites it is tempting to fall back on what we think we know about general trends. The danger, however, is that we simply end up reinforcing received opinion instead of looking at individual sites on their own merits and using them to critically question our assumptions about the bigger picture.

Marc's strongest arguments for a second century date for the stoa are those that derive from his own empirical research. He has meticulously studied the architectural remains of the buildings on the agora. One of his discoveries is that the stylobates of the southeast and southwest stoas are at significantly different heights.[286] This shows that the two buildings cannot have been erected at the same time. He also discovered that the southeast stoa and southwest stoas did not meet at the corner of the square. The southeast stoa had a short

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283 Marc 2001, 515.

284 Marc 2001, 510 and 500 n. 9. Marc draws here on Coulton 1976, 76 and n. 1, and 168–183.

285 Marc mentions an inscribed architrave from a possible Hadrianic stoa from Paros (ibid. p. 500 n. 9—with reference), implying that this is the only known example of an Imperial period stoa and argues that even this architrave actually probably came from a peristyle building rather than a true stoa. Several true stoas are, however, known from Roman times—see here 4.2—for three examples from the second century AD. Stoas also lined the Panathenaic Way in its approach to the Athenian agora from the northwest—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 108. Coulton dated these stoas to the first century AD—Coulton, 174.

286 Marc 2001, 503 ff.

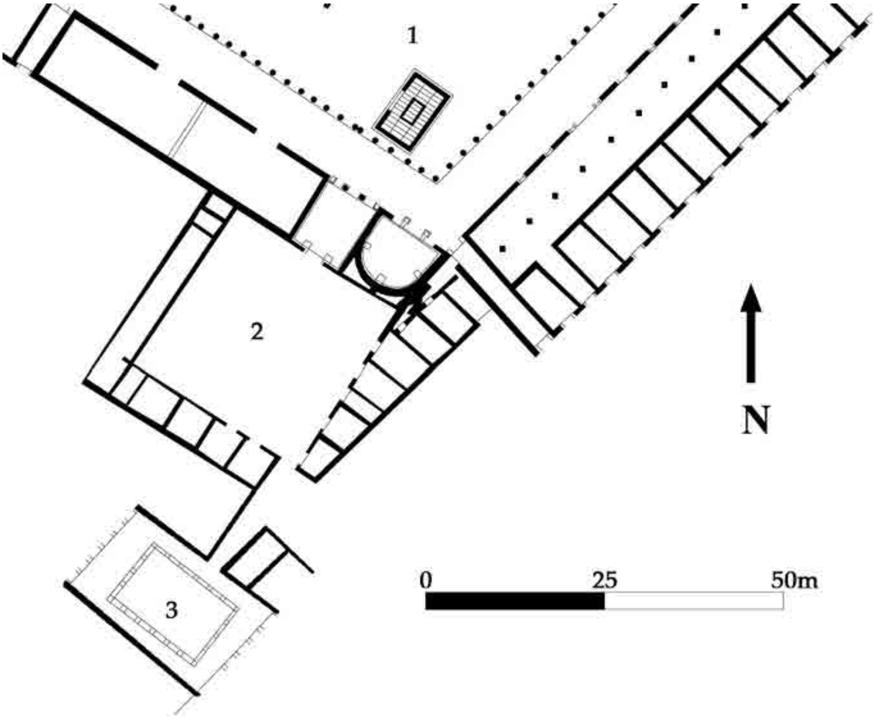

FIGURE 26 *The macellum at Thasos in relation to the agora (1. Agora, 2. Macellum, 3. "Cours aux cent dalles".)*

protruding wing on its western end which ran some distance along the southwest corner of the agora to connect with the southwest stoa; it has thus been renamed by Marc the "portique coudé", or "bent stoa".[287] The absidal hall was actually located to the rear of the wing of this building (see Figure 25), which is one more reason to disassociate the inscription, and its reference to a heroon, from the southwest stoa. After examination of architectural members of the superstructure of that building Marc has dated it stylistically to the second century BC.[288] The "bent stoa" was constructed later, in the first century AD and shall therefore be considered in the next chapter. It was the erection of the southwest stoa, however, that brought about the complete enclosure of the agora and Marc's work means that we can now be fairly sure that this situation

287 Marc 2001, 505 (with references to his earlier research on the building). See also here 3.16 and 4.2.

288 Marc 2001, 504.

was achieved in the late Hellenistic period. It was presumably also at this time that the Ionic propylon was erected at the short northwest end of this stoa.[289] This was now the main entrance into the agora for anyone approaching from the maritime port to the north.

For our purposes it is significant that this new stoa clearly divided the agora from an area to the west where the 3rd century BC market building mentioned in the previous chapter has been discovered (see Figure 26).[290] Full excavation of this so-called "macellum" has only taken place recently and extensive rebuilding in the Roman Imperial period means that the original Hellenistic phases are less well understood than we might hope. It is thus difficult to be completely sure what its original spatial relationship to the agora proper had been. Reconstruction maps of the agora in the early Hellenistic period show the rooms at the rear of the southwest stoa as already in existence, which would mean that the area of the macellum had already been cut off from the main square at that time.[291] If, however, as seems more likely, those rooms were an integral part of the stoa and built at the same time as the colonnade in the second century BC, then it would seem that the market had originally been open to the agora on that side. That is, indeed, what Marc implies in describing the rooms as part of the stoa and talking of the building closing off the agora on that side.[292] Even at this point in time, however, it is worth noting that access to the market seems to have been through a rather wide (20 m), open passage where the stoa stopped short of the southern corner of the agora. It was only when the "bent stoa" was erected, that the gap was filled by the absidal hall, mentioned above, and an Ionic gateway, which now provided passage from the agora to the macellum.[293] In the late Hellenistic period there was therefore perhaps still a greater fluidity of function between the spaces than there would be in the Imperial period.

Jean-Yves Marc stresses that none of the buildings on the agora proper are known for sure to have had a commercial or artisanal function and the excavations of the site have produced hardly any evidence for commercial activity.[294] A measuring table, sekomata, which had originally been dedicated by an agoranomos was found on the main agora, just to the south of the southern-

289 Marc 2001, 512. On this entrance see also Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 72.

290 See here 1.4.

291 E.g. Marc 2001, fig. 5 and Marc 1996, fig. on p. 106.

292 On the rooms being an integral part of the stoa—Marc 2001, 504. Mark describes the agora as open on this side prior to the erection of the stoa at ibid., 498.

293 Marc 2001, 512. On this entrance see also Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 72.

294 Marc 1996, 108.

most exedra.[295] However, Kohl, Marc and Mougin report that several more *sekomata* were discovered in the area of the macellum.[296] We cannot be sure that the one from the main agora was found anywhere near where it had originally stood. The concentration of measuring tables in the western square is certainly suggestive of a differentiation in terms of function between the two areas. Absence of other evidence for trade in the main agora is certainly not evidence of absence—it is extremely rare for small find material to be excavated *in situ*, which is why we are in the dark about the function of so many ancient public buildings. The lack of evidence does, however, suggest that this was not the city's main commercial market.

Just as I have argued for the Stoa of Attalos at Athens, the southwest stoa at Thasos served as the dividing line between a more commercial agora and a more political one. The archaeologists working at the site have indeed interpreted the situation in that way, arguing that Thasos eventually had two agoras, a northern "representative" agora, and a southern commercial one.[297] This development also, of course, parallels the rather similar division that I have argued for at Messene. At Athens and Messene it was the more political of the two squares on which architectural attention was first lavished, and which first became fully enclosed. Whether that also holds true for Thasos depends, of course, on how grand the original Hellenistic phase of the macellum was, which is not at present clear. The near enough full enclosure of the political agora is, however, a striking parallel for the developments seen at the other two sites.

Before leaving Thasos it is worth considering a monument that might provide yet another parallel for the situation at Athens, a curious base generally interpreted as having supported a statue but which, I believe, may in fact have been a speaker's platform.

2.10 The Prow Monument at Thasos—Statue Base or Speaker's Platform?

The so-called Prow Monument at Thasos was a sculpted ship's prow on a base decorated with highly stylised waves (see Figure 27). It stood within a small

295 Pouilloux 1954, *194*.

296 *Archaeological Reports* 2006, 95–96.

297 Marc, Mougin et al. 2007, 941. They, as mentioned here, argue that this development was early Hellenistic and link it to contemporary developments in cities of Asia Minor. See also Markus Kohl, Jean-Yves Marc and Pierre Mougin reporting in *Archaeological Reports* 2006, 95–96.

paved court in the southeast part of the square, facing out onto the agora; the court was surrounded on three sides by a stone barricade and was open at the front.[298] The archaeologists working at Thasos have compared it with similar prow monuments found elsewhere in the Greek world, such as the one in the agora of Cyrene, two at Rhodes and with the monument from Samothrace that was topped by the famous Winged Victory.[299] The date of the Rhodian monuments has been secured by an inscription to the mid third century BC. The one at Thasos has been dated to the second century, mainly by stylistic comparison with the others.[300]

Interpretation of what the base was used for has also depended on comparison with other prow monuments. The prow at Samothrace served as the base for the famous statue of Winged Victory and the one at Cyrene was also capped with a statue, which has been identified as either Nike or Athena.[301] These monuments are therefore interpreted as dedications to commemorate naval victories. At Thasos too scholars have assumed that the monument was a military dedication and that it was topped by a statue, presumably of Victory. Jean-Yves Marc goes so far as to say that this is a certainty.[302] The fullest consideration of this type of monument to date has been made by Phyllis Williams Lehmann and Karl Lehmann in their discussion of the Winged Victory of Samothrace.[303] They discuss nine known examples, in addition to the monument from Samothrace and including the example from Thasos.[304] Of

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298 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 77; Marc 2001, 512–513; Lévêque 1951, 146. Also reported briefly in the anonymous "Chronique des fouilles en 1925" in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 49 (1925), 464. For a hypothetical reconstruction drawing see Marc 1996, 112.

299 Marc 2001, 512; Ridgway 1971, 353–354. On the bases at Rhodes Marc cites Marcade 1946; for the base at Cyrene see Ermeti 1981. For a thorough discussion of the Winged Victory of Samothrace see Lehmann and Lehmann 1973, 180 ff.

300 Marc 2001, 513. It clearly postdates the northwest stoa but the date of that stoa has been largely determined with reference to the monument—see here 1.4. Cf Lehmann and Lehmann 1973, 196 who refer to the piece as "certainly of Roman date" because of its poor quality workmanship.

301 Ridgway 1971, 353–354.

302 "L'ensemble servait certainement de base à grande statue en marbre sans doute une Nikè."—Marc 2001, 512. Grandjean and Salviat (2000, 77) also conclude that the base must have supported a statue. Cf Ma 2013, 115 who curiously argues that the base would have supported a portrait statue.

303 Lehmann and Lehmann 1973, 180 ff.

304 One from the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros (Lehmann and Lehmann 1973, 193 and n. 16), one from the Sanctuary of Athena at Lindos (ibid., 193 and n. 17), one in the museum of Kos (ibid., 194 and n. 18), one at Ephesos (ibid., 194 and n. 20) and two more from Rhodes;

these ten monuments they provide evidence that six of them supported statues.[305] Like Marc, they also concluded that "similar crowning statues may be assumed in all the other cases where this feature is not preserved".[306] However, Lehmann and Lehmann mention in a footnote that one of their examples, a prow monument from Kos, does not seem to have supported a statue.[307] That leaves three prow monuments, including the one at Thasos, for which there is no evidence either way.[308] Even within this rather small sample there is considerable variation in the size and architectural form of these monuments—the monument at Samothrace was part of a grand fountain, while one of the examples from Rhodes was a funeral altar with an upper diameter of less than half a meter. On this basis it is a little rash to jump to the conclusion that the monument at Thasos must have carried a statue. No statue, statue fragments, or capping stones with fittings for a statue have been found there. Marc's certainty that it was a statue base is therefore no more than a plausible hypothesis. I would like to explore a different hypothesis.

As I have argued above, the first bemata appeared on Greek agoras in the second century BC under Roman influence and in probable emulation of the Rostra on the Forum Romanum. For the last two centuries BC, as we have seen a handful of bemata are attested on Greek agoras either by archaeological, epigraphic or literary evidence.[309] For the Imperial period in Greece, archaeological remains of speakers' platforms have only been identified at the

one is in the museum (ibid., 194 n. 19); the other is a funerary altar; it consists of a prow atop a round base decorated with garlands and bucrania, and is therefore a rather different type of monument than the others (ibid., and n. 21). They date the one from Epidauros to the early third or fourth century and believe that the others are all Hellenistic. They also consider two examples that might be Hellenistic or Roman: the one from Cyrene (ibid., 196 and n. 23) and one from Sparta (ibid., 196 n. 24). They also discuss the monument from Thasos, which they say was "certainly of Roman date".

305 The clearest and most well known example is, of course, the Victory from Samothrace. Lehmann and Lehmann also mention "traces of statuary—seemingly in bronze" for the monuments from Epidauros and Lindos. In the footnotes they present the evidence for a statuette on the funerary altar from Rhodes, the statue that has been associated with the monument at Cyrene and traces of feet on the monument from Sparta. See n. 304 for references.

306 Lehmann and Lehmann 1973, 198.

307 Lehmann and Lehmann 1973, p. 194, n. 18. Although only a small fragment of the monument is preserved it is apparently enough for them to conclude that "seemingly, there was no statue on top".

308 One from Rhodes and the one from Ephesos (see n. 304 above) and the one from Thasos.

309 See here 2.5.

FIGURE 27 *The in-situ remains of the prow monument on the agora of Thasos*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

Roman colonies of Corinth and Philippi but there is good literary evidence to suggest that they were probably fairly common, as I shall argue in the next chapter. This evidence has previously been overlooked by scholars fixed on the idea that Greek agoras were no longer used for serious political business at this time. In this light archaeologists might have failed to recognise the remains of bemata when excavating Roman period agoras. They could easily be mistaken for statue bases. I believe that there are good grounds for thinking that the prow monument at Thasos might have been a public speaker's platform.

The first argument in favour of this interpretation has to do with the monument's location. An area in the southeast of the agora of Thasos was kept deliberately free of monuments and during the first century AD was paved with marble. Jean-Yves Marc has argued that this was to allow room for meetings of the citizens' assembly.[310] It is improbable that the Thasian ekklesia met on the agora in the Roman period because Greek political assemblies tended to meet in the theatre. I have, however, argued that in the late 2nd/early 1st cen-

310 Marc 1996, 110 "c' est sur cet espace dalle de belles plaques de marbre à l' époque impériale, qu' il faut sans doute placer le lieu de réunion de l' assemblée."

tury BC the Athenian agora may briefly have served as the regular venue for that city's ekklesia so Marc's suggestion may be right. Even if political assemblies were not held on the agora of Thasos the square may have been used for other kinds of public gatherings, such as legal hearings or impromptu public addresses. The paved area is indeed a good candidate for the place where the crowd would have gathered on such occasions. An important question then, is where would the speaker have stood to address the assembled audience? A glance at the reconstructed map (Figure 25) shows that the prow monument was ideally placed for that purpose.

The fact that the monument was designed to look like the prow of a ship is the next reason for suspecting it to have been a speaker's platform. We have seen that bemata were introduced into the agoras of the Greek East under direct Roman influence and that Rome had a long tradition of holding public assemblies of various kinds on its Forum. The most famous and prestigious podium on the Forum was the Rostra, which translates as "the prows" after the rams captured at the Battle of Antium that decorated the front of it.[311] Lehmann and Lehmann provide a thorough discussion of prow monuments that were erected in Rome in the Late Republic and under the Empire, often incorporated into fountains, and see them as influenced by Hellenistic models.[312] They do not, however, reflect on the possibility that the Roman Rostra, which predates all of their Roman examples by centuries, might also have been an influence;[313] nor do they consider that the Roman Rostra might have exerted an influence over the Hellenistic East. The prow monument at Thasos was erected in the same century that speakers' platforms were set up at Antioch, Athens and Argos—in the first two cities certainly under direct Roman influence. This was a period when Thasos was enjoying good relations with Rome. I propose that the city of Thasos also erected—or was given—a speaker's platform at this time and that, being aware of the name of the platform at Rome, the Thasians constructed their bema to look like the prow of a ship.

If this suggestion is to be taken seriously we must, of course, consider whether the structure could actually have been used as a speaker's platform. It was certainly large enough. The underside of the ship's hull covered an area of around 4 m^2; allowing for the way that the ship must have curved outwards it might have been as much as twice as large on the top. Although this is

311 See here 2.5.

312 Lehmann and Lehmann 1973, 200 ff.

313 They begin their survey with an example from the first century BC.

smaller than the bema at Athens it would have been perfectly large enough to have supported a man.[314] There would not have been much room to walk around so we should not imagine very animated displays of rhetoric but in any case, as we have seen in the case of the praetors and Antiochos IV's emulation of them, during legal hearings it was Roman custom for magistrates to be seated.

The suggestion that the prow monument at Thasos was a speaker's platform is only a hypothesis. It is, however, a hypothesis that I believe is more plausible than the current interpretation of the base as supporting a statue, and that interpretation has been accepted without question by previous scholars. We will probably never be certain regarding the monument's function. However, in light of the arguments that I shall set out in the next chapter that bemata were fairly common on Greek agoras under the Empire, I am hopeful that more speakers' platforms will be identified on agoras in the future. The discovery of more examples would, in turn, strengthen the case for my interpretation of the Thasian monument as a bema.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on three case studies—Messene, Athens and Thasos. The reason that I have taken this approach is that there is simply not much evidence, at present, for architectural development of other agoras in the second half of the Hellenistic period. Why this is the case is not completely clear. Perhaps, as mentioned in the Introduction, the picture has been distorted by the practice of modern scholars; archaeologists like to associate major changes in the built environment to known historical events or persons and this might explain why evidence for major building work tends to peak under the diadochoi and the early emperors. The reason that Messene, Athens and Thasos have produced exceptionally good evidence for change in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC might have more to do with the interests of modern archaeologists than with ancient reality. However, the last two centuries BC were troubled times for Greece as the country came increasingly under Roman control and was caught up in Rome's civil wars. Such times were not favourable for major construction projects and to some extent the lack of evidence for them is probably, therefore, real enough. Future research may cast new light on the development of agoras

314 The estimate of the size of the monument at Thasos is my own based on the published maps.

at other poleis in this period. In the meantime, the consideration of these three cities here has proved instructive because remarkably similar developments can be traced at all three.

At all three cities, I have argued, we can observe a certain segregation of commercial and political activity taking place. The development came first at Messene, with the creation of the Asklepieion complex, probably at the very beginning of the second century BC, then at Athens in the mid second century, and last at Thasos, sometime in the first century. This development is in itself not surprising. It is well known that ancient writers began advocating separate agoras in this way in the late Classical period and examples have long been known of cities that had multiple agoras in late Classical and Hellenistic times. In the previous chapter I discussed examples of cities in Greece that possibly had more than one agora in the early Hellenistic period. When older cities such as Athens or Thasos divided their agoras into two separate areas they were arguably late in putting into practice ideas that had already been implemented elsewhere. However, it is worth stressing that for many of the cities which are thought to have had multiple agoras in the early Hellenistic period it remains uncertain whether they actually did. The evidence for segregation of space at these three sites in the late Hellenistic period is unequivocal though problems of interpretation of function do still remain.

At Messene, the Asklepieion has long been thought of as a political and administrative complex but this view has recently been challenged by scholars, who prefer to see it as merely a religious sanctuary. I find that interpretation unconvincing and have argued against it here but the nature of the evidence does not allow certainty. In the case of Athens, the interpretation that I have offered differs substantially from any that has previously seen print. My argument is that the Classical agora was originally much larger than most people have thought and was cut in two by the erection of the Stoa of Attalos with the intention of creating a more commercial agora to the east and a more political one to the west. According to this interpretation the late Hellenistic transformations of the agora were far more radical, the early Imperial transformations far less so, than previous scholars have thought. I believe that the scenario I have proposed makes better sense of the available evidence, and has the advantage that it is less shaped by prejudice against the Roman Imperial period, than previous interpretations. At Thasos there has been relatively little controversy about the development of the agora and surroundings, perhaps because there the discovery of the separate market to the west of the political agora has been made so recently. For that site my interpretation is broadly in line with that of the excavators though my suggestion that the prow monument might be a bema is a new one.

An important and striking similarity in the development of Messene, Athens and Thasos is that at all three sites architectural attention was focused firmly on the more civic of the two public spaces. At Messene the Asklepieion was clearly a prestige project. At present there is little evidence for building work taking place in that period on the old agora. Although the ongoing excavations might yet reveal new buildings on the main agora it seems unlikely that they will unearth anything as splendid as the Asklepieion, with its gallery of sculpture by the acclaimed artist Damophon. At Athens, although there were new buildings in the area to the east of the Stoa of Attalos, again attention seems to have been focused firmly on the old civic agora. It is possible that the limited amount of excavation of the eastern area has skewed our picture somewhat, but it is instructive that the Stoa of Attalos—arguably the most splendid of the new buildings and, I have argued, the dividing line between the two spaces—faced firmly west toward the old agora. At Thasos too, the new southwest stoa faced into the old civic agora. Although there might have been a Hellenistic precursor of the late Hellenistic macellum there it is unlikely to have been a very splendid building because otherwise there would have been no need to completely replace it in the Imperial period.

Three sites, of course, do not allow us to speak of a trend. As we move into the Imperial period, however, we will see that other agoras begin to develop along similar lines with steps taken toward enclosure, monumentalisation and separation of commercial and political space. A major difference from the development seen at late Hellenistic Messene, Athens and Thasos, however, is that when cities under the Empire had separate agoras for different spheres of public life, it was more usual for the market square, rather than the political square, to be a fully enclosed, inward-looking building.

CHAPTER 3

The Early Imperial Period. 31 BC–97 AD

3.1 Introduction to the Period

When Augustus established himself as *princeps* at Rome he employed a wide range of propaganda to advertise this as the dawning of a new golden age of stability and prosperity for the entire Empire.[1] Historians too have seen Augustus' decisive victory over Antony at Actium in 31 BC as the beginning of a new era. For the Greek world the date is traditionally taken as marking the end of the Hellenistic and the beginning of the Roman period.[2] The Mediterranean certainly did change dramatically. Gone were the separate Hellenistic kingdoms, replaced by a single, centralised Empire; gone were the old power structures of the Republic, with its power hungry generals, replaced by an all-powerful emperor. This situation remained remarkably stable for centuries. For Greece this shift in power was of profound significance. It marked the end of the constant warring that had taken place on Greek soil since Archaic times, and which had reached such a devastating scale when the Roman civil wars came to Greece in the last century BC. For the first time the Greeks were also faced with large numbers of permanent Roman settlers living in their country in newly founded colonies.

As noted in the introduction to the last chapter the economy of Greece had suffered considerably under the rule of the Roman Republic. Under the Principate things improved.[3] Rizakis has recently painted a picture of a gradual economic upturn in Achaia beginning as early as the time of Caesar and

1 His use of the visual arts as propaganda is treated in exemplary fashion in the study by Zanker 1988; see also, with a focus on the city of Rome itself, Ewald and Noreña 2010, esp. 24–37. Their overview contains some appropriately critical comments on the term "propaganda"—not all pro-Augustan art was "official" and created by the regime. Nonetheless there is good reason to suppose that some of it was and some was at least actively encouraged by the new emperor. Cf MacMullen 2000, 112 ff., 136–137 (also with important arguments in the footnotes) who goes further in denying that artistic media were deliberately used to disseminate central ideology under Augustus.

2 Witness the titles of books dealing with the Hellenistic period such as Peter Green's *Alexander to Actium—The Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*, Graham Shipley's *The Greek World after Alexander, 323–30 BC* and Christian Habicht's *Athens from Alexander to Antony*.

3 On the sorry state of the Greek economy at the turn of the Principate see Rizakis 2010b, 1–6, Mitchell 1987, 360, Jones 1971, 3–12 and esp. 8 and Larsen 1938.

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reaching a high point in the 2nd century AD, stimulated by a more pro-active policy on the part of Rome towards running the province, which involved favouring large regional centres at the expense of smaller settlements.[4] The few cities that wisely chose to back the winning side in the civil wars, such as Sparta, were the object of particular favour by the new Imperial house and received privileges such as grants of territory and tax exemptions.[5] Most of the larger Greek poleis, however, benefited from the new situation and even fairly small cities show signs of renewed prosperity. For example, Alcock argues that even Karystos in Euboea, often taken as a paradigmatic example of decline, due to Dio Chrysostom's famous description of (probably) this city in his Euboean discourse, actually grew and became more prosperous, possibly benefiting from the exploitation of nearby *cipollino* marble quarries.[6]

On a more negative note, the advent of the Principate also marked the end for the Greek poleis of that old ideal of "freedom" as anything more than an ideal, at least in terms of their ability to pursue an independent course in foreign policy. In terms of internal affairs Greek cities continued to enjoy a fairly high degree of autonomy and even maintained many of their age-old political institutions such as councils, magistracies and assemblies. They also continued to describe themselves as democracies. Whether the outward form of institutions corresponded to political reality is one of the thorniest problems of Roman-period Greek history. Recently an increasing number of scholars have challenged the old consensus that Greek poleis in Roman times were dominated by oligarchic cliques made up of local elites who monopolised magistracies and positions on the councils and that the level of popular participation in local government was negligible.[7] The limitations of the evidence mean that the debate seems, for now at least, to have reached something of an impasse. There is no need to resolve the issue here but two important points are worth making.

4 Rizakis 2010b, 6–10 with extensive footnotes and references to recent scholarship.

5 Spawforth 2012, 86 ff.

6 Alcock 1993, 101. Keller (1985, 215, 222, 227) discusses evidence for the expansion of Karystos.

7 The literature on the political fortunes of the Roman-period polis is considerable but see van Nijf and Alston 2010 for a good recent overview with references. For the old consensus that assemblies ceased to be important and power became concentrated in increasingly oligarchic councils see e.g.: Jones 1940, 177, Magie 1950, de Ste. Croix 1981, Sartre 1991, 129–130 and Quass 1993 (most of whom are writing about the Greek East in general and, typically, with an emphasis on Asia Minor). One of the most forceful arguments for a high level of popular participation in local politics is Ma 2000, who draws heavily on Dio's Euboean discourse, which does, of course, concern Greece. See also Zuiderhoek 2008.

In the first place assumptions about political decline, arising from the work of historians, have had a profound influence over the way in which archaeologists have interpreted the transformation of Greek agoras in this period; the emphasis in previous scholarship has been on increasing monumentalisation as a symptom of the decreasing importance of the agora as a place of public interaction. Consequently there has been little attention paid to what agoras were actually used for at this time and the possibility of agoras serving as venues for public meetings of any kind has been denied. This chapter will challenge several of the assumptions at the heart of this vision of the Roman-period agora. The second point is that whatever political power they wielded, in social and economic terms, local elites certainly did become more prominent under Roman rule, as the gulf between rich and poor widened.[8] The Hellenistic institution of euergetism, by which the wealth of local elites was harnessed for the benefit of the community, persisted into this period.[9] This is relevant for our purposes because building activity was a popular form of benefaction. Increased spending on buildings by local benefactors was an important factor in the architectural transformation of public spaces at this time. Emperors and their associates too acted as benefactors to Greek cities, sometimes paying for building works, very much in the tradition of Hellenistic kings. It is, however, important to stress that often we have no evidence for who paid for a particular building and should be cautious in assuming that all Roman period buildings were paid for as benefactions.

Archaeology shows that there was indeed a surge in building activity in Greek cities at this time.[10] This is perhaps most visible at Athens. Several buildings that had been badly damaged in the Sullan assault of 86 BC were only finally repaired in the age of Augustus; the city also witnessed several major new building projects at this time.[11] At some time under the Empire (possibly now?) a new "Roman forum" might have been created at Piraeus in addition to the two agoras it already had, although little is known about this area.[12]

8 On the prominence of local elites in the Roman Peloponnese see Rizakis 2010b, 13 and references in n. 57; for Achaia in general Spawforth 2012, 36–58 and specifically for Athens Geagan 1997.

9 On the phenomenon of euergetism see, in general, Veyne 1990 and, for a more thorough consideration of the practice and its impact on the politics and society of the Roman-period Greek polis—Zuiderhoek 2009.

10 See the overview of evidence in Marchetti 2001.

11 On the Sullan assault see here 2.1. On repairs and new projects see here *passim*.

12 Robert Garland reported briefly on the area that had been identified as a Roman forum, near the Zea Theatre—Garland 1987, 146. He gives no description of the area or evidence

Urban renewal was, however, by no means restricted to Athens. Even at the relatively small polis of Melos, as Susan Alcock points out, survey data attests to the presence of imperial portrait statuary, the refurbishment of the theatre, a new bath and an aqueduct serving a gymnasium.[13] Another fairly small town, Tanagra, also experienced urban renewal, and was given a new orthogonal grid in the late Hellenistic/early Roman period.[14] In the course of this chapter we shall see evidence for building activity at poleis throughout Greece. Greg Woolf is probably going too far when he states, "the *entire* physical appearance of Romano-Greek cities was transformed as new kinds of buildings were built with new techniques and new materials to serve new ends" (my emphasis).[15] After all, in most cities the basic layout and many buildings were preserved from the pre-Augustan period. Nonetheless, in terms of the scale and pace of architectural activity the contrast with the preceding century and a half is striking. Much of this new building work, in old and new cities alike, focused on the civic centre, and in particular on the agora or forum. Vasilis Evangelidis is therefore right to have stressed recently that the advent of the Principate was a watershed in the development of agora planning.[16]

On the whole there was a continuation of the same trends that we have seen in previous periods—towards segmentation, control of entrances and enclosure. These tendencies were, however, taken further and new elements were introduced. Firstly, while cities in earlier periods sometimes had more than one agora, it was in this period that this became the norm. While there had always been much variation in agora design a standard architectural form was also adopted for the commercial market, a central courtyard surrounded by a peristyle arcade. These commercial markets typically tended to stand in close proximity to more civic-orientated agoras. On older agoras more consideration than ever before was given to façades and monumental entrances—the image that buildings projected into the main square was apparently consid-

for its dating. He also places a question mark after the name, acknowledging the identification as tentative.

13 Alcock 1993, 101. Sparkes and Cherry 1982.

14 Alcock 1993, 101; Alcock cites Roller 1985, 1987, 1989. Since publication of Alcock's book the site has been the subject of renewed survey research under the direction of John Bintliff of the University of Leiden. Bintliff has published extensively on the site—e.g. Bintliff and Farinetti 2004–2005, Bintliff 2005, 2006b. Significant for this thesis is that Bintliff reports that the agora is now thought to be located elsewhere than Roller had thought—Bintliff 2005, 37.

15 Woolf 1994, 127. He refers to Dodge 1990, Yegül 1991 and Millar 1987.

16 Evangelidis 2014, 336.

ered more important than previously. A similar concern for aesthetics is seen in the increasing use of marble, used to cover buildings of poorer materials and as paving. We also see the introduction of new religious buildings, often connected with the imperial cult.

Although my interest is in the eastern half of the Roman Empire, and Greece in particular, it is worth pointing out that these developments are paralleled elsewhere in the Empire. A building boom has also been detected in the western part of the Empire, and in the Iberian Peninsula in particular, in the time of Augustus.[17] Building activity, as in Greece, was focused on civic centres. The design of cities and their public squares in the west does seem to have followed the Roman model more closely than in the east. Forums in Spain generally took up a regular number of insulae and have the rectangular shape and 3:2 ratio proposed by Vitruvius.[18] A temple on the western end of a forum was also a common feature, sometimes a "*Capitolium*", again as proscribed by Vitruvius, sometimes a temple to Augustus, to the goddess Roma or to both.[19] Cities in other western provinces also show monumental attention being lavished on the forum. At Leptis Magna the old temples of Shadrapa and Milk'ashtart were rededicated to Roma and Augustus, Milk'ashtart being relocated to a small new building nearby.[20] In Gaul forums were also redesigned at Glanum, Augusta Bagiennorum and at Feurs (Forum Segusiavorum) at this time.[21] There is often a tendency in modern scholarship to separate the eastern and western halves of the Roman Empire and there certainly were important differences between the two. However, it is clear that the dividing line between east and west was no iron curtain and there was much traffic in people and ideas between the two. This same traffic of ideas is seen at a more localised level within the Greek speaking provinces where old Greek cities begin to exhibit western features and Roman colonies adopted Greek ones.

There has been much discussion in recent years, as to whether the concept of "Romanisation" provides a useful framework for understanding the developments sketched above. For the Greek speaking provinces, where the Romans were confronted with an already highly advanced and heavily urbanised culture, the value of the concept has, in particular, been much debated. In recent years two scholars in particular have been influential in their explorations of the dynamics of cultural change in the Greek world from Hellenistic into early

17 MacMullen 2000, 102.
18 MacMullen 2000, 59–60. Vitruvius 5. 1. 2.
19 MacMullen 2000, 60.
20 MacMullen 2000, 41.
21 MacMullen 2000, 104.

Imperial times. The first is, once again, Susan Alcock; the second is Greg Woolf, in his important article, "Becoming Roman, Staying Greek".[22] Both scholars argue that although there was change, it was the result of complex processes of interaction between Greek and Roman culture. Change also proceeded at a fairly slow pace and cannot therefore be attributed simplistically to the coming of Rome or to the emergence of Empire. The phenomena they point to as significant for understanding the impact of Roman rule in Greece include:[23] (i) shifts in settlement pattern away from smaller dispersed habitations in the countryside, towards nucleation; (ii) the growth of already large cities at the expense of smaller ones; the appearance of large landed estates;[24] (iii) the increasing stratification of the population of cities along the lines of political power and status. Though all of these trends can be detected for the period before Augustus' rise to power, the transformation of Rome from Republic to Empire does seem to have accelerated them.

If these areas of change all relate to the socio-economic life of the province, a second group of changes discussed by Alcock and Woolf, which can only be detected *after* Augustus' rise to power, might be grouped under the heading "cultural imports": Roman style bathing, gladiatorial combats and the imperial cult.[25] All three of these "imports" were focused on the city and reflect a more Roman style of urban life. All three also demanded new types of buildings or transformations of old ones: bathhouses for bathing, transformed theatres for blood games, and new temples or, more often, conversion of existing temples or political buildings for emperor worship. Such construction projects connect to the wider evidence for urban transformation at this time, discussed above. It is too simplistic, however, to interpret the continued transformation of the agora in this period as simply leading toward a more Roman type of public square. In

22 Alcock 1993; Woolf 1994.

23 For all three see Woolf 1994, 125; Alcock 1993, esp. 96–105.

24 Here see especially Alcock 1993, 129–171. Alcock argues that the overall tendency was for less towns in total and more big towns among those that remained; however some small poleis could and did survive as well.

25 Woolf 1994, 126 and no. 47. On gladiators in the Greek world see Carter 2010, MacMullen 2000, 16; Wiedemann 1992, 43–44 and 141–145 discusses the evidence for resistance to them in some intellectual circles; Louis Robert's seminal work, in which he first explored the popularity of the phenomenon in the East, remains important—Robert 1940. On baths—Farrington 1987, Yegül 1992, esp. 250–312, Nielsen 1993. Both Roman bathing and gladiator fights are only attested for earlier periods in the Greek world in connection with that most Roman of Hellenistic kings, Antiochos IV Epiphanes and among the Italian immigrants on Delos.

the first place, as I shall argue here, Greek agoras and Roman forums had much in common and the dividing line between the two types of square was vague and permeable. Forums too continued to be transformed under the Empire and, especially in the Greek speaking eastern half of the Empire, they exhibit a certain degree of Greek influence. The presence of emperor worship and the degree of attention to the outward appearance of buildings were certainly new but it is more appropriate to think of the developments of the agora in this period as part of a long evolution stretching back into Hellenistic times rather than to see the advent of the Principate as a radical rupture with the past.

On the subject of "Romanisation" an important question is the extent to which transformation of the urban environment was driven by the emperor himself. Whether any of the cultural changes mentioned above were the result of a central policy is a controversial issue that has yet to be resolved.[26] When it comes to large-scale public building projects, there is a tendency in modern scholarship to naïvely assume that all such projects were imperial benefactions or at least driven by imperial initiative. The practice of dating buildings to the reigns of particular emperors—e.g. Augustan, Vespasianic etc.—no doubt encourages this habit because mentioning buildings in the same breath as the names of emperors naturally encourages the assumption of some direct connection between the two. It is true that several major projects are securely associated with Augustus, but after that securely attested benefactions on the part of emperors are hard to find before the second century AD. Nero, despite his love of all things Greek, was better known in antiquity for taking monuments away from major sanctuaries, and by modern scholars for the affront of adding his name to the architrave of the Parthenon, than for donating new buildings.[27] Imperial gifts of buildings are much better attested under Hadrian and the Antonines. Even in the second century there is no reason to assume that cities never paid for buildings themselves. Achaia has generally been characterised as a "tax-exporting province" and is thought of as economically depressed under the Empire.[28] Even today, walking around such magnificent Roman period sites in Asia Minor as Ephesos or Aphrodisias, it is hard not to conclude that the

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26 E.g. Cf Brunt 1976 and Whittaker 1997 who take diametrically opposed positions; Brunt: "the emperors made no attempt to Romanise the Greek speaking provinces". Whittaker argues that there must have been some top-down policy deliberately encouraging change.

27 On taking statues see e.g. Pausanias 10.7.1 (Delphi) and 5.25.9 and 5.26.3 (Olympia). For the inscription on the Parthenon—Hurwit 1999, 280. On Nero in Greece see also—Alcock 1994b.

28 Alcock 1993, 24; Reynolds 1988, 20.

provinces of Achaia and Macedonia were left behind in terms of wealth and outward splendour.[29] However, as already stated, building activity certainly did increase under the Empire even in Greece and it is unlikely that emperors funded all major projects; cities—or at least their wealthy elites—must have had more money to spend on buildings than in the first century BC when they were caught up in exhausting Roman civil wars. We should therefore imagine that the transformation of public space in Greece was the result of a dialectic process of interaction between the imperial power and local communities and we should certainly not underestimate the degree of influence of the latter. Even when buildings were imperial gifts we cannot assume that emperors dictated what was built.

A key issue for this period is the extent to which Greek agoras were influenced by Roman culture and a good way of measuring that influence is to consider those Roman public spaces that the Greeks were most likely to come into contact with—the forums of the Roman colonies in Greece. I shall therefore begin this chapter by discussing the evidence for the main public spaces of these new cities. After introducing the colonies in general (3.2) I will discuss the colony at Corinth in more detail (3.3 and 3.4). There are two reasons for this. Firstly, it is the colony for which we have best archaeological evidence for the early Imperial period. Secondly, as the probable capital of the province of Achaia, it is the colony most likely to have exerted an influence over the poleis of Greece and the city where the settlers had the resources to come closest to achieving an "ideal Roman" urban form.

Because there is a greater abundance of evidence for building work on the agoras of Greece in this period, having discussed Corinth, it is possible to return to the thematic approach followed in Chapter One. I shall discuss the appearance of two types of structure, which, though seen in earlier periods, now become so common as to be thought of as characteristic of the period—separate market buildings (3.5 and 3.6) and odeia and other theatre-like buildings (3.7 and 3.8). I shall discuss religious buildings (3.10) and political buildings (3.11)—both new structures and renovations of existing buildings. The next three sections pick up the argument made in Chapter Two that one of the most dramatic changes to the function of the Greek agora in Roman times had to do with the introduction of speakers' platforms, which were most probably used for public legal hearings and other (informal) public assemblies. First (3.12) I

29 On the wealth of Asia see Levick 2000, 608–609, 610, 612. On Greece as relatively impoverished see Rostovtzeff 1998 [1957] 253–254 and 375. Although Rostovtzeff's pessimistic vision of Greece at this time might be going too far the contrast with the province of Asia remains valid. See also Spawforth 2012, 47.

challenge the widely accepted view that the Athenian bema must have gone out of use under the Empire because the new imperial buildings didn't leave enough room for gatherings. I then (3.13) present an overview of functions of the various forums at Rome in this period with particular emphasis on the use of speakers' platforms in order to argue that it is implausible that Rome would have exerted an influence by which such platforms disappeared from Greek agoras. The case for the importance of bemata in Greece is then made by consideration of various references in authors of the period such as Apuleius, Dio Chrysostom and Plutarch (3.14). In light of this argument that speakers' platforms were fairly common in Imperial times and important for the agora's political function at this time I then return to Athens (3.15) to offer a new reading of the significance of the transfer of the supposed "Altar of Zeus Agoraios" from the Pnyx to the agora at this time. I finish by considering evidence for what is often considered a defining feature of agoras of the period—their increasing enclosure by colonnades (3.16).

3.2 Roman Cities on Greek Soil

In the latter half of the first century BC eleven new Roman colonies were founded in Greece, either by Julius Caesar or Octavian/Augustus: Corinth, Patras, and Dyme in the new province of Achaia, Philippi, Dion, Pella,[30] Kassandreia, Stobi, Dyrrhachium, Byllis and Buthrotum (known now as Butrint) in the province of Macedonia; most of these "new" colonies were actually refoundations of existing settlements.[31] For the location of these colonies see Figures 3a, b and c. Another new city, Nikopolis, in Epiros (at that time part of the province of Macedonia), was founded by Augustus opposite the bay of Actium in order to celebrate his decisive victory there over Marc Antony in 31 BC.[32] Nikopolis was not a colony; it was a forced synoecism of the populations of several Greek poleis in the area.[33] Scholars disagree about the intention behind these foundations. Greg Woolf has argued that some of them were mainly symbolic foundations whereas Rizakis has emphasised their economic

30 Rizakis 1997, 18 comments that the date of the foundation of Pella as a colony is particularly uncertain—he refers to Papazoglou 1988, 407–408, 425 nn. 56, 109, 137.

31 On the policy behind the colonies see Alcock 1993, 143 ff.; for a more detailed consideration of the colonies in Achaia see Rizakis 1997.

32 Strabo 7.7.6; Pausanias 5.23.3; Cassius Dio 51.1.3; Suetonius *Augustus* 18.

33 Purcell 1987; Alcock 1993. On Nikopolis nonetheless having characteristics of a Roman colony (i.e. centuriation of its territory) see Spawforth 2012, 35–36.

importance.[34] Susan Alcock has pointed out that the majority of them were located in western Greece, thus facing across the Adriatic to Italy, which certainly suggests they were partly aimed at trade with Rome. What interests us here, however, is the urban form of these new cities. For Nikopolis most scholars have tended to argue that it was a fairly Greek city with little Roman influence on its layout.[35] In the colonies proper we might expect that public space would have been given a decidedly Roman shape. The colonists of these new settlements would have surely called their main public squares "fora" rather than "agorai". It is therefore important to justify at this point why so much attention will be given to these squares in this and the following chapter in what is, after all, a study of the Greek agora and not the Roman forum.

In the first place these cities are worth looking at because they provide a useful way of assessing potential Roman influence on the design and use of the agora. Scholars have generally tended to look to Rome itself, and in particular to the radical transformation of the Forum Romanum under Augustus and the new Imperial Forums, for models of public space that Greek cities might have emulated under the early Empire, whether through direct encouragement from the centre or on their own initiative. While Greek elites certainly did go to Rome in this period (think of Strabo or Dionysios of Halikarnassos), the cities that the Romans founded on Greek soil would have been easier to visit and therefore arguably more familiar to them. This makes it important to explore the possibility that the colonies might have served as channels through which Roman ideas of urban form were mediated. Furthermore, even though these colonies were mostly sited above pre-existing cities so that the colonists did not have a blank canvas to work on, building a new city presents opportunities for implementing new ideas in a way that older pre-existing cities do not. Just as it was instructive to look at new royal foundations for insights into the latest thinking on agora design in the early Hellenistic period, so can the Roman

34 Rizakis 1997 (esp. p. 19); Cf Woolf 1997, 3. Woolf curiously singles Corinth out for emphasis as a symbolic foundation. However, the city enjoyed one of the most advantageous positions for trade in the ancient world, as reflected in its Homeric epithet "wealthy". Caesar was certainly aware of this when he decided to re-found the city. The Roman colony had far more market facilities than are known for any other city in Greece at that time—Williams 1993; and Donald Engels has argued that the city was able to free itself from dependence on the land and thrive on a largely service based economy—Engels 1990 (though cf the highly critical review by Spawforth 1992). If there is any colony where it seems likely that there was an economic, and thus a practical, motive behind its foundation, that colony is Corinth.

35 On the Greekness of Nikopolis see Bowden 2007, 190 and Purcell 1987.

colonies inform us about the latest ideas relating to the planning of public space that the colonists brought with them from Rome.

The second reason that the squares of Roman colonies are worth looking at here is to explore whether agoras and forums were inherently different types of public space as has often been assumed. Vasilis Evangelidis in his recent discussion of the agoras and forums of Imperial Greece has argued that each reflected a different "logic of space".[36] It is certainly true that the forums of the colonies display some typically Roman characteristics, such as the relationship of the main square to an elevated temple terrace. This does not mean, however, that the Greeks or Romans experienced these squares as being fundamentally different to the agoras of Greek cities. There are no indications in the ancient literary sources to suggest that they did. On the contrary both cultures were happy to refer to the square of the other by the word they used for their own squares.[37] The closest we come to an explicit comparison of agoras and forums in antiquity is Vitruvius' comment that Roman squares tended to be more elongated than those of the Greeks because the shape made them more suited as arenas for gladiatorial combats.[38] Yet it is worth stressing that Vitruvius talks about the Greek agora as though it were a kind of forum and makes no comment on any other significant differences between the two types of square. Treating the two types of square separately—as Evangelidis does—only tends to reinforce modern assumptions about their differences. Looking at them in conjunction challenges these assumptions. By thinking about the types of buildings that were found on both agoras and forums and by comparing the priorities behind the construction of the public squares of Roman colonies with those seen at earlier Greek cities, the two types of square begin to look rather more similar. While differences certainly existed it is unhelpful to think in terms of rigid categories defined by strict boundaries.

Beyond the period of the early Principate the differences between forums and agoras became less and less pronounced as Roman cities became fully integrated into their provincial setting and Greek cities became fully accustomed to the realities of Empire. Economically, politically and culturally the worlds of the poleis and colonies intertwined and fused together. Fergus Millar has argued that the distinction between Greek and Roman is of little value for understanding the eastern half of the Empire and that we would do better to think in terms of a shared Graeco-Roman culture.[39] Of course there con-

36 Evangelidis 2014.

37 See here 1.1.

38 Vitruvius 5.1.1.

39 Millar 1993.

tinued to be differences between the two types of city, particularly in terms of their political status: the colonies enjoyed a privileged relationship with Rome and were organised with constitutions modelled closely on that of Rome itself. However, even in terms of politics the differences with old Greek cities should not be exaggerated. There existed a whole spectrum of relationships that a city could have to Rome and the colonies were exceptional more in the degree of their privilege than in the nature of it;[40] regardless of constitution, public life in both types of city was dominated by local elites who monopolised positions of importance and used benefactions to advertise and shore up their position. In other words, their political culture was remarkably similar. The blurred distinction between Greek and Roman cities is well illustrated by the example of Thessalonikē; never resettled as a Roman colony the city was nonetheless the capital of Roman Macedonia and had a mixed population of Greeks and Romans.[41] When a new "forum" was laid out in the city in the second century AD, the design was remarkably similar to the one employed at a nearby city that was a colony, Philippi (see Figures 44 and 45).[42] Whether, by that time, Thessalonikē had become more Roman or Philippi had become more Greek is a moot point.

Of all the colonies of Roman Greece particular attention will be paid in this chapter to the city of Corinth, a choice of emphasis that deserves explanation. Archaeological evidence from most of the new Roman cities for the early Imperial period is, unfortunately, rather patchy. Nikopolis has not been fully excavated and although the "forum" is described briefly in a recent guidebook the nature of the evidence is extremely problematic.[43] The location of the

40 For a good discussion of the possible relationships of cities to Rome see Reynolds 1988.

41 Allamani-Souri 2003, 92–97.

42 On the laying out of the new forum see Adam-Veleni 2003, 146–150.

43 In 1993 Susan Alcock could say that archaeological knowledge of the city has only just begun to be accumulated—Alcock 1993, 133 n. 18 (she refers to *Archaeological Reports* 1985/6, 31 and 1987/8, 28). In the first half of the 19th century, after visiting Nikopolis with Colonel Leake, T.L. Donaldson produced a map of the site that included a rather detailed outline of the forum area—Leake 1835—foldout map. Leake describes the remains that he saw at the city but makes no reference to the forum or the forum buildings that are shown on Donaldson's map, although he does describe the odeion, which stood nearby (ibid., 185–192). This suggests that the remains were not very impressive—perhaps not even sufficient to convince Leake himself that this was the forum area. The guidebook published by the Greek Ministry of Culture on the other hand states that a good deal of the forum is still visible today—stylobates of stoas, a water cistern on a tall, brick tower, a bath-house, archives, an agoranomeion, a library and various temples are all mentioned—Chrysostomou and Keffalonitou 2005, 27. When I visited the site in the spring of 2007 I

"Roman agora" has been tentatively identified at Patras in an area to the south of the Akropolis, which Rizakis has argued was where the Hellenistic agora had been, but the area is beneath the modern town and archaeological knowledge of it is extremely fragmentary.[44] There has been no systematic excavation at Kassandreia. Though Stobi has been extensively excavated since the 1960s, excavation only began in the forum area in 2006; it is still going on and has yet to be published.[45] The forum at Butrint has also been excavated extremely recently and although an overview of the excavations has been published the results are, of course, preliminary.[46] There have been excavations on the agora of Byllis but the results have only appeared as interim publications.[47] The same is true of Dion.[48] The agora of Philippi has been thoroughly excavated and there has been considerable post-excavation research there. However, the forum was extensively rebuilt in the Antonine period with the result that most of the evidence for the early Imperial period has been obscured. The evidence from Philippi is therefore most useful for the period that is the subject of the next chapter. Corinth is by far the Roman colony for which we have the best evidence for the early Imperial period. The site has been extensively excavated and studied for over a century by the American School of Classical Studies at

found that the supposed forum area was private land, under cultivation and inaccessible. I have also found no publications of any archaeological research in the forum area since Leake's visit. The map of the site produced in the guidebook is clearly a reproduction of Donaldson's. The nature of the archaeological evidence behind the identification of the forum is therefore unclear. Bowden argues (2007, 193) that the forum has not even been found; strangely he also argues (ibid., 195) that the agora was part of the original city plan. It says much about modern attitudes to what an agora was that scholars tend to use the word "forum" for the main square of Nikopolis, no doubt doing so because the city was founded by Octavian/Augustus. However, considering that the city's inhabitants were all Greeks they would themselves no doubt have referred to the square as an "agora".

44 Rizakis 2010a, 145–148. Cf Petropoulos 2009, 46–47 (discussed and refuted by Rizakis, ibid.) who argues for a different location for the Hellenistic agora so that the location of the forum of the colony represents a shift in public space in the city. See also Rizakis 1998.

45 A short book aimed mainly at presenting the site to tourists has appeared summarising the main highlights of the excavation—Shurbanoska and Jamimovski 2010.

46 The excavations began in 2004. The results up to 2007 have been studied in depth in the as yet unpublished PhD thesis by David Hernandez (2010) and more succinctly in an article by Hernandez and Çondi (2008); both provide references to the periodic excavation reports. See also Bowden 2007, 200 and Hansen and Pojani 2003, 20.

47 Discussed briefly here—see 3.4.

48 The only periods of the agora that I am aware of receiving any mention in any publication are the Hellenistic and Severan phases and even for these periods the notices have contained minimal information (see here 1.3, 4.1 and 4.6).

Athens. Although the early date of much of the excavation work means that many interpretations of the site are being re-evaluated in light of knowledge accumulated since, particularly in the area of pottery chronologies, the vast wealth of archaeological evidence from the site and the extensive secondary literature on it make it a valuable case study for present purposes. The extent to which Corinth can be thought of as representative of other colonies in Greece is, of course, an important question and one that will be addressed. Evidence from other Roman colonies will be brought into the discussion where possible.

3.3 Roman Corinth—the Capital of Achaia

Corinth was founded by Julius Caesar in 44 BC as *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* and was probably settled sometime soon after.[49] It was later renamed by Vespasian, *Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis*; the political significance of this change is disputed.[50] The beginnings of the colony predate the period under consideration in this chapter (31 BC–100 AD) but building work on the forum did not begin much before the age of Augustus. Because of the meagre evidence from other Roman colonies in Greece, as mentioned above, I will give quite some weight to the evidence from Corinth. It might be objected that it is inappropriate to generalise on the basis of a single site, especially Corinth, because the city was not a typical colony but rather the likely capital of the province of Achaia.[51] However, it is precisely because of Corinth's exceptional status that the city is so useful in considering the bigger picture.

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49 Diodorus Siculus 30.27.1; Strabo 8.4.8; 8.6.20–22; 17.3.15; Plutarch *How to profit by one's enemies. Moralia* 86B; *Table Talk* 5. *Moralia* 675D; *Life of Julius Caesar* 57.5; Appian *The Punic Wars* 136. There has been some disagreement as to when the colonists actually arrived, some scholars arguing that Caesar's plans were carried out by Octavian, others arguing Antony was responsible. On this debate, with references, see Walbank 1997, 98.

50 David Romano has argued, mainly on the basis of the identification of two separate systems of centuriation in the territory, that this was a completely new colony and thus a real break in the history of the city—Romano 2000; he sees the need for this new colony as arising from the failure of the original foundation to become a thriving city. Mary Walbank challenges this view and argues that the original colony grew steadily in prosperity up to the time of the re-foundation—Walbank 2002.

51 There are actually only two pieces of literary evidence that suggest this: firstly Paul was brought before the Roman governor Gallio at Corinth (*Acts of the Apostles* 18). The gospel does not specifically say that Corinth was the residence of the governor but this is a possibilty. Secondly Apuleius, in his *Golden Ass* (10.18) refers to the city as the provincial capital. On the basis of these sources, it is generally accepted that Corinth was indeed

Corinth was grander and built on a larger scale than the other colonies founded in Greece. This is either a testimony to the resources that Rome was willing to plough into the city or to the success of its economy.[52] Either way the limits as to what could be achieved in planning the city could be pushed much further than at the other colonies. Corinth clearly cannot be thought of as a *typical* Roman colony. The city does, however, arguably represent the closest that any of the colonists in Greece could come to realising their *ideal* city. Corinth offers us the best glimpse we have of the urban image that Roman settlers in Greece wanted their cities to have.[53] This means that any areas where it is possible to identify either differences *or* similarities between Roman and Greek practice can be seen as significant.

The extent of Mummius' destruction of Corinth in 146 BC remains controversial. While literary sources suggest that the city was completely abandoned following the sack, there is actually considerable archaeological evidence for activity at the site between then and the new foundation.[54] Certainly, some

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the capital but at what point it was elevated to this position is less clear. As Susan Alcock has pointed out this cannot have been before Achaia became a separate province after Actium (1993, 14), which was a decade and a half after the colony's foundation.

52 On the economy of Corinth see Engels 1990.

53 Of course the question of the social and cultural composition of the colonists is important here. Two ancient sources provide information on this point. Firstly, Plutarch in his *Life of Julius Caesar* 57 tells us that Caesar created the colony with the specific aim of rewarding his veterans with land. However, modern scholars (e.g. Salmon 1969, Rawson 1994, 446) have tended to place more trust in Strabo's claim (6.8.23) that the colonists were freedmen. If this was the case they were not Romans as such and people from various cultural backgrounds. It is conceivable that some of them would have been Greek, perhaps even descendents of the original Corinthians. On the ethnic identity of the early colonists see Millis 2010a, 2010b. The political structure of the colony was decidedly Roman and epigraphic and numismatic evidence show that the language of government of the early colony was Latin. I therefore feel justified in speaking, for simplicity's sake, of "Roman" colonists here. For further consideration of this question, with references see Walbank 1997, 107.

54 Of the several literary sources that suggest complete abandonment the most explicit is Cicero's *Tuscan Disputations* 3.53. There is however good evidence, mainly archaeological, that people continued to live at the site in the century between the destruction and the foundation of the colony. For the fullest consideration of that evidence see Gebhard and Dickie 2003. See also Millis 2006 who considers the case for the so-called "miserable huts", which are often mentioned in literature on the site as the possible dwellings of the post-destruction Corinthians. Millis shows that there is actually no hard evidence for these habitations and that the idea can be traced back to an unpublished public lecture given by Heermance in 1903–1904.

monuments of the old Greek city were incorporated into the layout of the new colony, including the Asklepieion and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.[55] In the area of what would become the forum the Archaic temple thought to have housed a cult of Apollo, the Hellenistic South Stoa and the fountains of Peirene and Glauke remained standing and would continue in use, the first two playing an important role in determining the orientation of the square. As we shall see, all of these structures were subject to major renovations by the colonists. I have already mentioned the highly contentious issue of whether or not the old Greek agora had been located at the same location as the Roman forum and there is no need to try to settle the problem here.[56] Even if the forum was planted atop the old agora the extent to which the area was remodelled means that there can be little thought of continuity.[57] The forum of Roman Corinth was, for all intents and purposes, a new creation.

In good Roman planning tradition the new colony of Corinth was laid out on a grid, the orientation of which matched up with that of the surrounding centuriated field systems.[58] A space was set aside for the forum fairly centrally within that grid (for a map of the fully developed forum see Figure 28. Cf Figure 13). The square was located on the route of two of the city's main thoroughfares. The city's main north-south avenue, the "*cardo maximus*", led from the northeast corner of the forum to the port of Lechaion.[59] Roads also left the northwest and southwest corners, leading, respectively, past the theatre and odeion and to Sikyon, and up to Acrocorinth. At some point one of the rooms in the South Stoa was also knocked through to create another entrance to the forum on that side;[60] it would have connected with the east-west road that

55 For both see Bookidis 2005, 159–160 with references.

56 In section 1.1.

57 It is therefore extremely odd that Henry Robinson once made the following statement: "Suffice it to say that as in Athens of the Roman period, the old market place retained its general character …"—Robinson 1965, 23.

58 Romano (2000) has shown that there was a second land division with the "re-foundation" of the city under Vespasian.

59 On the Lechaion Road, and the monuments that lined it see Stillwell, Scranton et al. 1941, *passim*. The terms "*decumanus maximus*" and "*cardo maximus*" are commonly used in works on Roman urbanism, and are used by Romano for Corinth but it is worth noting that these terms are nowhere attested in the ancient sources—Ward-Perkins 1974, 28.

60 Note that the condition of the South Stoa in the Imperial period is a controversial and uncertain issue. It is thus debatable whether the new road entailed the destruction of part of an intact building or rather the demolition of part of a still standing ruin. As a result of these uncertainties the dating of the road is also disputed. Oscar Broneer had dated it

passed behind the Stoa and led to Corinth's eastern port of Kenchreiai. It is also possible that the excavators have found evidence for the site of a foundation ritual that anchored the forum symbolically, as well as physically, in the centre of the city. A pit with an altar above it was found in the approximate centre of the forum. Mary Walbank suggests this might be the *mundus*, into which the new colonists threw earth and offerings.[61]

Although the picture is less clear, the integration of the forum into the city grid seems also to have been a concern at Philippi. It seems that the forum received its main lines and definitive dimensions around the time of Claudius, the period for which the earliest buildings have been identified.[62] The location of the forum, however, presumably can be dated to the original laying-out of the colony.[63] Again the forum was connected to one of the city's main thoroughfares. The east-west avenue, thought to be part of the Via Egnatia by the excavators, cut through the square dividing it into two unequal halves on different levels—a higher terrace to the north, a lower one to the south.[64] Although archaeological knowledge of the pre-Roman city is extremely patchy it is clear enough that the forum was not located above the agora of the Hellenistic city.[65] In light of the ongoing debate about whether the forum at Corinth was constructed in the same location as the old agora the evidence from Philippi at least demonstrates that Roman colonists were sometimes capable of quite drastic changes in the urban layout of pre-existing cities. On the other hand, as already mentioned, Rizakis has argued that at Patras the forum was constructed above the agora.[66] At Dion, as at Philippi, the agora was located alongside what has been identified as the principal north-south

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to the first century AD—Broneer 1954, 128–129; Mary Walbank sees it as one of the first building projects on the forum and as part of the original grid plan—Walbank 1997, 118.

61 Walbank 1997, 117; Scranton 1951, 139–141. The monument was razed when the area was paved over in the late first century BC. Walbank also suggests that a block found immediately to the northeast of the Rostra, and dated to the earliest years of the colony might have been a monument to commemorate the spot where the *groma* had been set up to determine the main lines of the city.

62 Sève 1996a, 707. Sève 1996b, 123, Sève and Weber 2012a, 12–17 and fig. 2. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2003, 38–41—an extremely brief description of the forum but accompanied by a useful map.

63 It does not in any case appear to have been on the same spot as the Hellenistic agora. On what is known of the topography of the Hellenistic city see here 1.3.

64 The argument that the upper terrace should be thought of as an integral part of the forum is made in Sève and Weber 1986.

65 Sève and Weber 2012a.

66 See here 3.2.

thoroughfare of the city although here this probably does reflect the Hellenistic arrangement of the city.[67] Evidence from other parts of the Roman world confirms that the forum was generally placed at the crossroads of the two principal roads of the settlement, the *cardo* and the *decumanus maximus*, and if not, then at least on one of them.[68]

The Corinthian forum covered an area of 22,000 m^2 including the buildings; the amount of open space, taking the lower and upper forum together was c. 15,000 m^2.[69] If the terrace of Temple E, to the west of the square is also included, the entire complex covered an impressive 34,000 m^2! Charles Williams has argued, however, that this temple was not part of the original design of the forum (as we shall see presently). The implication of this suggestion is that the entire forum may originally have been envisaged as somewhat smaller than it eventually became, only extending westwards as the colony prospered in the early first century AD.[70] The forum of Philippi was smaller—somewhere between half and a third of the size, depending on whether only the lower administrative terrace is being considered (11,000 m^2) or if the upper terrace is also included (giving a total area of c. 21,000 m^2).[71] In terms of basic shape the forum of Corinth was much wider than it was long—a ratio of approximately 1:1.5. The forum of Philippi was also rectangular. Both therefore conform to Vitruvius' statement that Roman forums tended to be rectangular, Greek agoras square.[72] The scale of the forums of both Corinth and Philippi was comparable to that of the older agoras of Greece. It is difficult to draw conclusions about the significance of the size of ancient squares, largely because we have so little information about the population sizes of cities and therefore cannot be

67 Pandermalis 1997, 39. See here 1.3.

68 As has long been recognised though see Perring 1992, 282 for a fairly recent consideration. On the terms *cardo* and *decumanus maximus* see also n. 59 here.

69 These calculations are derived from the plans of the site I have digitised using the program MapInfo. Williams gives an area of 15,300 m^2 of open space—Williams 1993, 33. Engels and Romano have argued that there was less open space: 14,000 m^2 according to Engels (1990, 13); 13,000 m^2 according to Romano (2000, 89 n. 36). Presumably they were including only the so-called "lower agora" and excluding the space to the rear of the central shops.

70 Williams 1989, 162.

71 My calculations.

72 Vitruvius 5.1.1. Collart already connected the shape of the forum of Philippi with Vitruvius' statement—Collart 1937, 329. The reason Vitruvius gives for the shape of Roman forums is that it was more conducive to staging gladiatorial combats. The possible use of public space in the eastern half of the Empire for gladiatorial fights is a subject that has not received much attention but such a use has been suggested for the agora of Hierapolis in Turkey—D'Andria and Rossignani 2012.

sure how crowded agoras or forums would have been. At the very least, however, it seems that large open squares were felt to be as desirable at new Roman colonies as at older Greek poleis.

A curious feature of the Corinthian forum's place within the city plan is that it was not aligned with the city grid but was rather positioned at an angle of 17 degrees to it, approximately ENE/WSW.[73] One of the main reasons for giving the forum this orientation must have been to take best advantage of the existing contours of the area—the slope of Temple Hill to the north and the terrace of the South Stoa to the south.

The deviation from the grid also allowed several pre-Roman monuments to be incorporated into the new forum. Firstly, the old Archaic temple continued to be used in the Roman city, even if it was extensively remodelled, as we shall see presently. However, if it was ever intended as an integral part of the new forum it soon lost that function when the so-called Northwest Stoa was constructed along the southern foot of Temple Hill in the first century AD;[74] after that the temple was no longer accessible from the main forum square. The Northwest Stoa itself was constructed, at least at its eastern end above the remains of an older, much shorter, Hellenistic stoa.[75] That building may still have been standing in some form in the early days of the new forum but in light of its small size it can hardly have had much importance in the new plan. The fountains of Glauke and Peirene were also renovated and incorporated in the new city plan but they now lay just outside the main area of the forum.[76] The most important old Greek building to remain on the new forum was therefore the Hellenistic South Stoa, from which the new forum took its orientation. The state of preservation of this building at this time and the way that it was used and remodelled are issues that I shall return to below.

The contours of the area chosen for the forum were far from ideal for what the colonists had in mind. They therefore transformed the natural valley into a series of several level terraces. The valley was filled in with layers of sand

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73 David Gilman Romano has pointed out that the forum actually combines three different systems of alignment—Romano 2003, 287–288, Romano 2005, 32–38. However it is clear from a glance at a plan that the dominant orientation was that provided by the old South Stoa and Archaic Temple.

74 Charles Williams has established, contrary to the interpretation of the original excavators (Stillwell, Scranton et al. 1941, 89–119, esp. 129 and Scranton 1951, 8) that the Northwest Stoa was built in the early first century AD and not earlier—Williams 1969, 52–55, Williams 1989, 156.

75 See n. 74 above.

76 For both, with references to previous scholarship see Robinson 2005.

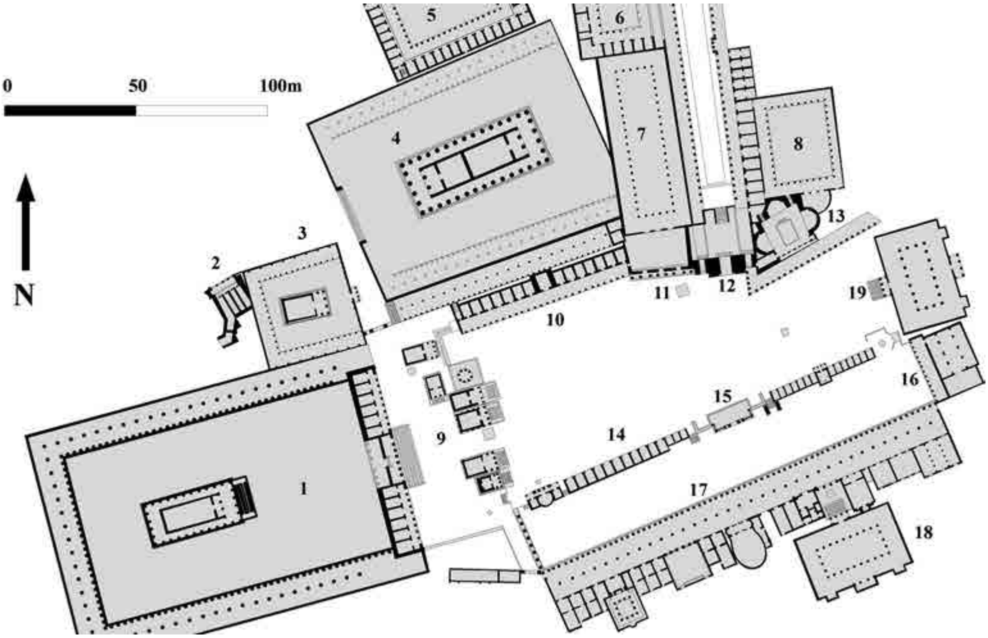

FIGURE 28 *The Corinthian forum fully developed c. 200 AD (1. Temple E, 2. Glauke, 3. Temple C, 4. Archaic Temple of Apollo, 5. North market, 6. Lechaion Road market, 7. Lechaion road basilica, 8. Peribolos of Apollo, 9. West Temple Terrace, 10. North shops, 11. Captive's façade, 12. Propylon, 13. Peirene, 14. Central shops, 15. Rostra, 16. Southeast building, 17. South stoa, 18. South basilica, 19. Julian Basilica)*

and clay, which were covered with cement in the Augustan period and then with a hard limestone pavement in the course of the first century AD.[77] The main forum area consisted of two terraces—a larger one to the north and a smaller one to the south, 2.3 m higher.[78] A retaining wall initially divided the two in the eastern part of the forum for just over half their length while to the west the two were connected by a gradual slope.[79] There were also two smaller terraces to the west of the main forum area. The first was the platform where a series of podium temples would later be built.[80] It was 1.8 m higher than the main forum. Immediately to the west of that terrace, an even higher terrace was created on which the large and enigmatic Temple E would eventually come to stand. To the northeast where the Lechaion Road led away from the forum the ground was lower still; along the west side of the road a row of shops was

77 Walbank 1997, 118.

78 Scranton 1951, 92.

79 Walbank 1997, 117.

80 See Williams 1987 and Williams 1989. The temples are discussed here at 3.10.

also created which served to support another terrace on the east of Temple Hill where a basilica would be built.[81] In the early years of the colony large parts of Temple Hill on both the east and the west were quarried away to provide stone for the new buildings. The hill was therefore much reduced in size and took on the form it still has—a steep mound rising rather abruptly from the surrounding landscape. Its western end, out of which the Fountain of Glauke had been carved, was severed from the rest of the hill as a result of this quarrying and the fountain stood thenceforth as an independent monument.

Because it was arranged on so many different plateaus, each at a different height, the Corinthian forum is a complex archaeological site to come to grips with. For modern visitors to the site the problem is exacerbated by the archaeologists also having dug to different depths in different places. While the site now looks rather chaotic, in the first century BC it was one of the most sophisticated attempts yet seen in Greece to transform the natural landscape to create an ordered public space within a city. Terracing had been used in earlier periods to landscape areas of public space in Greek cities—the Hellenistic South Stoa at Corinth was constructed on an impressive terrace and the Hellenistic agora of Messene was constructed on a series of broad terraces.[82] Generally, however, agoras had tended to conform fairly closely to the natural contours of the land. The extent to which terracing was used in Roman cities to transform the natural landscape was something new. From a bird's eye view, afforded by reconstruction plans, many Roman cities seem to be dominated by straight lines, from the grid to the colonnades which lined and framed various areas of public space. Through terracing an attempt was also made to impose straight lines in the vertical plane as well. At Philippi too, the forum area was, as already mentioned, divided into two main terraces, one lower, the other higher than the road that passed between them.

3.4 The Earliest Buildings on the Corinthian Forum

We have now considered the way in which the forum of Corinth was integrated into the city plan and considered its basic layout. In order to better understand the priorities of the colonists in constructing the forum it is now important to think about the order in which buildings were erected surrounding the open space. It is useful to begin with the buildings that were still standing from

81 The Lechaion Road Basilica; see Stillwell in Fowler and Stillwell 1932, 193–211.

82 Petros Themelis - personal communication.

the Greek days of the city and which were now incorporated into the new Roman city—the two fountains, the Archaic Temple and the South Stoa. I have already mentioned their possible influence on the orientation of the forum above.

In the case of religious buildings a certain piety or reverence for their antiquity may have been partly responsible for their reuse. Betsey Robinson has recently argued that the imperial rebuilding of the Peirene Fountain can be explained by Roman interest in the myths that were associated with the building. The fountain was given a new columnar façade in the early Augustan period, a poros courtyard was constructed in front of it within a generation after that.[83] An interesting feature of the newly designed structure was that it still allowed a glimpse of the old rock-cut chambers from the old Classical phase of the building, which Betsey Robinson has argued deliberately gave the new building something of a grotto-like appearance.[84] The other old fountain that the Romans retained, Glauke, also had a mythological, if not a cultic pedigree.[85] There was also a curious round structure of great antiquity—possibly an orchestra for religious festivals (?)—that was allowed to remain standing in the centre of the square and was eventually incorporated into the row of Central Shops.[86] There is no direct evidence for the use of the structure, either before or after the time of the colony, but it is hard to imagine what it could have been used for except cultic activity and hard to envisage any motive apart from piety for the colonists retaining it.

Religious considerations might have led to colonists retaining the old "Archaic Temple". Although there is not much hard evidence to allow identification of the temple, it is generally accepted as being the Temple of Apollo,

83 On the early rennovations see Robinson 2011, 176–203. On the importance of the Peirene myth in Roman culture as revealed through art and literature ibid., 39–44, 51–59 and on its importance to the identity of the new colony ibid. 59–64. A condensed version of Robinson's analysis of Peirene's rennovations and her arguments for the reasons the colonists took such an interest in the monument can be found in Robinson 2005.

84 Robinson 2005, 121–122 and 124 for suggestion about the grotto.

85 Robinson 2005.

86 The structure was modified and changed shape several times in the early Imperial period as construction of the Central Shops proceeded—see Scranton 1951, 80–85. Williams and Russell 1981, 15 n. 21 provide an extensive bibliography on the monument. Williams and Russell also argue (p. 20 ff.) that the monument was originally constructed in the fifth century BC and interpret it as part of a complex for boxing and wrestling along the lines of something described by Pausanias at Sparta (3.14.6–3.15.2). They credit D.G. Romano with suggesting the parallel (ibid. n. 31). See my discussion of round enclosures or structures on early agoras at 1.8.

mentioned by Pausanias.[87] The building underwent extensive renovations in the early years of the colony: the quarrying operations in Temple Hill, which I have already mentioned, removed the area where the altar of the temple would probably have stood; the internal columns were dismantled and re-erected as a free standing colonnade on the western edge of the southern upper terrace of the forum; the building had originally had two *cellae* and these may have been knocked into one at this time; the building was certainly re-roofed; the orientation of the temple was also probably inverted so that it was now entered from the west instead of the east.[88]

Various theories have been put forward to explain these transformations, including a possible change in deity or the intention to accommodate the imperial cult alongside Apollo.[89] Whatever the significance of the changes, Charles Williams has argued that they suggest a lack of respect for the building on the part of the new colonists.[90] We should be cautious, however, about second-guessing the attitude of the Roman Corinthians here. The fact that the temple was used at all might indicate piety rather than lack of respect. The god worshipped in the temple might be significant here. We should not forget that

87 Pausanias 2.3.6. He mentions a statue and temple of Apollo on the right hand of the road that left the forum at the northwest. Fowler (1932, 115) argued that the double cella of the temple showed that it had originally been designed to accommodate two deities. The fact that the temple seems to have been converted in the Roman period to a more standard, single cella design (see main text) has led to speculation that, even if this was Pausanias' Temple of Apollo, he might not have been the original deity, or if he was that he was worshipped alongside another god. For the history of the identification of the temple and alternative theories see Bookidis 2005. Bookidis believes that the identification of the temple as belonging to Apollo is secure and argues that the double *cella* does not mean the temple originally housed two deities. Elsewhere, together with Ronald Stroud, she argues that various literary references to an Archaic/Classical Sanctuary of Apollo, also point in their details to this Archaic tTemple—Bookidis and Stroud 2004. They also argue that the identity of the temple is confirmed by the discovery of an unpublished Archaic terracotta pinax, apparently of Apollo, in the vicinity of the temple.

88 For these developments see Williams 1987; Stillwell 1932, 124; Robinson 1976; according to Nancy Bookidis these changes took place no later than the time of Claudius—Bookidis 2005, 154.

89 Donald Engels suggested that the temple might have served the imperial cult—Engels 1990, 13, 101, 227 and n. 33. Mary Walbank has taken this interpretation further, arguing that the temple retained its double cella and that one compartment was now used for worshipping the emperor, the other Apollo—Walbank 1996, 202–204 and Walbank 2010, 364.

90 "… no apparent sympathy was shown for preservation of the Greek temple plan or of the operation of the cult as known in the Greek period"—Williams 1987.

Apollo was one of the few Greek gods to make his way into the Roman pantheon while retaining his original Greek name.[91] If the temple had always been dedicated to Apollo that might have played some part in the decision to retain it in use.

While sentiment might have played a role in decisions to reuse older buildings, practical considerations must have been equally, if not more, important. Whatever the mythical associations of both the Peirene and Glauke fountains, they were above all abundant sources of water, an essential resource for the new community. In the case of the Temple of Apollo the new city needed places to worship its gods and it would have been expedient to make use of an existing structure, especially if it already belonged to an established Roman god, like Apollo. The decision to construct the new Northwest Stoa partly above the ruins of the older Hellenistic stoa can also only have been made for pragmatic reasons. There has been some speculation that the so-called North Building on the west of the Lechaion Road may have been reused by the early colonists but the evidence is too slight to warrant further consideration here.[92] This making use of whatever buildings were still structurally sound fits what we know of Roman practice elsewhere. The third century BC stoa on the agora at Byllis must have been reused by the colonists there because it was still standing in the third century AD.[93] Such reuse probably had more to do with expedience than continuity. Also at Byllis, two buildings on the other side of the forum were rebuilt in the first century AD in *opus reticulatum* technique.[94] In such cases the ruins of old buildings merely provided convenient foundations on which to construct new ones.

The reuse of the Hellenistic South Stoa is more complex and deserves more thorough consideration (see Figure 29). There has been some recent discussion concerning the state of the building in the Imperial period—whether it was more or less intact or merely a ruined shell.[95] This issue can only be solved through detailed study of the architectural remains and is beyond both my expertise and the scope of this book. However, there are reasons to assume that the building must have been fairly well preserved at this time. In the first place this seems the best explanation for why the colonists reused the building at all and for why, as we have seen, it was allowed to determine the overall

91 Ackerman and Rosenfeld 1989.

92 Walbank 1997, 118.

93 Korkutti and Petruso 1993, 723.

94 Ibid.

95 Benjamin Millis believes the building was in a ruinous state—*personal communication*. David Scahill believes it survived largely intact—*personal communication*.

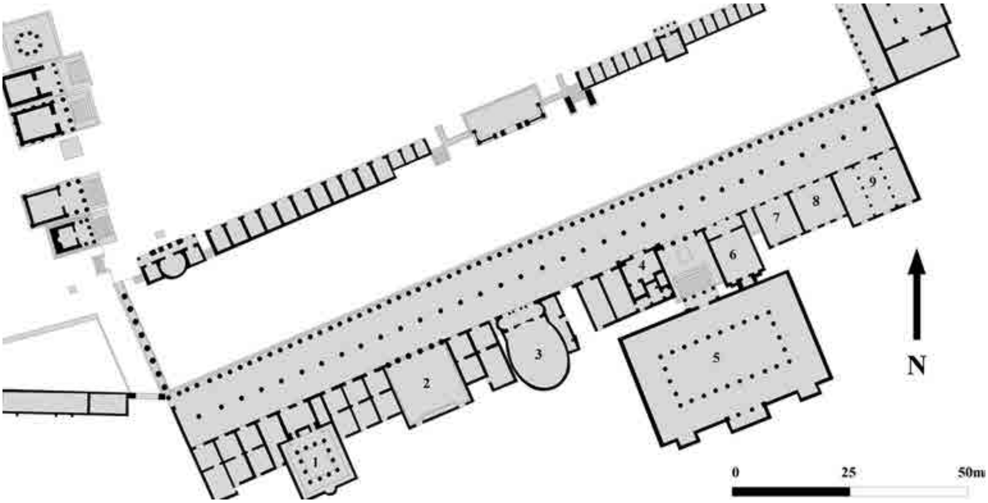

FIGURE 29 *The renovated South Stoa at Corinth c. 200 AD (1. Latrine, 2. Room H, 3. Curia? 4. Fountain house E, 5. South Basilica, 6. Room D, 7. Room C, 8. Room B, 9. Room A)*

orientation of the forum. It also seems to make best sense from an aesthetic point of view. The stoa continued to remain standing for over three centuries.[96] It is conceivable that an old dilapidated stoa might have been acceptable in the early days of the colony but it would have looked very out of place once the forum had reached its full grandeur under the high Empire. The argument that the South Stoa must have always been a fully functioning building, presentable or even impressive, gains even more weight when we consider what we know of the building's use under the Empire.

The stoa underwent far-reaching renovations in the time of the colony. The majority of the thirty-three "shops" at the rear of the stoa were gradually demolished and replaced with new buildings.[97] It is clear that this was not a single, coherent project but rather a series of piecemeal modifications that continued into the third century AD. It is clear that many of these new buildings provided administrative facilities for the city. The stoa itself therefore was effectively transformed into the monumental façade for these buildings. The interpretation of the function of the individual buildings and their dating are disputed issues. Certain points of this discussion are worth considering here because they have bearing on a central concern of this section—the order of priorities in laying out the new forum.

96 For this being a gradual process see Williams 1993, 38–39.

97 Robinson 1965, 23; Broneer 1954, 100–155.

Perhaps the most important controversy has to do with identifying the place where the town council met. Broneer identified the unusual curvilinear building at the rear of the centre of the stoa as the curia (or "bouleuterion" as he called it).[98] Broneer admitted that his bouleuterion could have been constructed any time in the first century AD but favoured a date in the reign of Claudius.[99] John Hayes' thorough analysis of the pottery deposits revised the date of the structure to the time of Nero at the earliest but did not rule out an even later date.[100] The colony had therefore existed for somewhere between half a century and a century before the room was built. Assuming Broneer is right about its function, the obvious question is, where did the council meet before that time? Addressing this problem F.E. Winter suggested that it could, in the early days of the colony, have met on the upper floor of the stoa;[101] the space had originally been divided into rooms but seems to have been knocked into one large hall in the early days of the colony.[102] T.P. Wiseman, on the other hand, argued that there simply were no buildings on the early forum that were adequate to have accommodated local government or administration and that all of the earliest political buildings must have stood somewhere else in the city.[103] Recently, Broneer's identification of the curvilinear room as a council house has also been called into question, which only makes the situation even more uncertain.

Jean-Charles Balty in his extensive consideration of Roman council buildings argued that the shape of the room was wrong and that so-called Room D (not built until the second century AD) was a more likely candidate.[104] Mary Walbank, partly influenced by Balty's argument, offers another interpretation, one that also solves the problem of where the council originally met. Broneer had interpreted the three easternmost rooms (A to C) as connected to the administration of the Isthmian games.[105] For him Room D, where an honorific

98 Broneer 1954, 129 ff.

99 Broneer 1954, 131–132.

100 Hayes 1973, 417.

101 Winter 1963, 292.

102 Walbank 1997, 118.

103 Wiseman 1979, 513. This was, for him, an additional reason to suppose that the old Greek agora must have been elsewhere. He argued that the original colonists would have located their political buildings on the old Greek agora; these buildings had not been found because the agora and forum were not in the same place. On the issue of locating the old Greek agora at Corinth see I.1.

104 Balty 1991, 143–144.

105 Broneer 1954, 104 ff. In particular the mosaic on the floor of Room C depicting sporting

statue base for a procurator was discovered *in situ*, might have been the office of that official.[106] Walbank offers a different interpretation for these four rooms. She argues that the first of them belong to the period shortly after the foundation of the colony and that "Room A" was the curia, Rooms B, C and D being offices for the duovirs, the aediles and their staff.[107] I am not convinced, however, that we need to rule out Broneer's original suggestion. The shape of the room might be unique but it could well have been a local architectural experiment that simply never caught on elsewhere. All three interpretations have their merits and the issue is unlikely to ever be definitively resolved.

Although it has not led to an answer, the controversy surrounding the curia is instructive with regards to both the actual priorities of the early colonists and modern expectations regarding them: modern scholars expect a council house to have been one of the first things the city would have needed; they might be right, but if they are, the fact that the curia can elude certain identification speaks volumes about the way that Roman municipal governments could make do with fairly unobtrusive buildings. It is worth reiterating that of all of the rooms and buildings that were eventually constructed to the rear of the old Hellenistic stoa, only A, B and C can be dated to the earliest years of the colony;

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scenes (reproduced in colour in Broneer ibid. between pages 108 and 109) suggests that this might have been the office of the *agonothetes*—it depicts a nude athlete, holding a victory palm and crowned with a wreath, standing before the seated goddess Eutychia, holding a shield with her name written on it. Seeing Room C as the *agonothetes*' office Broneer suggests that Rooms A and B could have also accommodated magistrates connected with the Isthmian games—ibid., 111.

106 The statue base (Kent 1966, *137*) is certainly Hadrianic because it specifically mentions the emperor's name. The text is also produced by Broneer (1954, 113). He presents the room's identification as tentative but states that the inscription is the only evidence to go on—p. 114.

107 Walbank agrees with Balty regarding the unusual shape of Broneer's "curia" referring to McDonald's much earlier assertion that bouleuteria usually had rectilinear seating arrangements—McDonald 1943, 179 and 255; McDonald's argument, however, is now rather dated considering the sheer number of bouleuteria with curved seats known from elsewhere in the Greek world. Walbank's reason for disagreeing with Balty's suggestion of Room D as the curia is that Room D was not built before the second century AD—Walbank 1997, 119. She accepts that the mosaic in Room C (see n. 105 above) suggests the presence of the agonothetes but argues that this room could originally have been the office of a different magistrate more connected with civic administration before being transformed into the office of the agonothetes at some point in the first century AD—Walbank 1997, 120. This would seem to leave open the possibility that Room D could have then become the curia.

and although it seems reasonable to think that these rooms had something to do with administration, their precise function remains uncertain.

Several new buildings erected in the forum in the late first century BC have also been suggested as having had some kind of political function and are worth mentioning here. Firstly there is the Southeast Building, at the eastern edge of the forum's southern terrace, which has been suggested on the basis of a very small fragment of an inscription to have been the city's record house (tabularium) or a library.[108] The earliest phase of the Lechaion Road Basilica also appears to date to the Augustan period.[109] Some have argued that there must have been a precursor to the mid first century speakers' platform, the Rostra, located on the line that separated the main area of the forum from the higher terrace to the south.[110] On the west side of the forum there was also the so-called "cellar building" which pre-dated the Augustan period, as attested by pottery fills, and was in use for several centuries.[111] It appears to have been a public building rather than a private house but its exact function is unclear; Mary Walbank suggests it might have been a dining place for a collegium or religious association.[112] It is also worth mentioning a stoa, built on the cliff above Peirene facing south into the forum; it has been dated as being one of the

108 On the building—Weinberg 1960, 1–33. See also Walbank 1997, 120. The fragment bears the letters "PTA". Thought to come from the word "scripta" this suggests a connection with books. Weinberg suggested the possibility of a record's house or library, favouring the latter. L. Michael White has more recently (2005) argued the case for a library, primarily because this would fit his argument that an oration, probably by Favorinus, which mentions a library, was performed in front of this building.

109 Richard Stillwell in Fowler and Stillwell 1932, 211.

110 Kent thought there was a phase earlier than the one securely identified on the basis of archaeological evidence because of two earlier inscriptions—Kent 1966, *157* and *322*. Wiseman following this lead suggested that the earlier phase should be dated to the reign of Augustus—Wiseman 1979, 156. Walbank has argued that the Rostra dated to the earliest days of the colony on the grounds of its position within the forum—it is more or less the central monument and aligned with the main entrance from the Lechaion Road. This does indeed seem to suggest it was important in the overall plan—Walbank 1997, 120 ff.

111 Robinson 1962, 111–112; de Grazia and Williams 1977, 58–62. For a full analysis of the pottery deposits as well as a summary of the building see Slane 1986. See also Wright and Jones 1980.

112 Walbank 1997, 123. Walbank also states that it has been suggested that it might have been a "restaurant". Her footnote refers to the articles by de Grazia and Williams and Slane in n. 111. above. Neither article uses the word "restaurant", and the authors are rather reticent concerning the building's function. It is therefore not clear where this idea originated. However, the word "restaurant" surely has too modern a ring to it and implies a commercial enterprise, for which there is little evidence.

first buildings to be constructed, and as a public building may have been linked to the administration of the city, but it is rather small to think it could have had a function of major importance.[113] The various buildings considered here suggest that the forum was probably designated as the centre of government from the beginning of the colony. It is striking, however, that provision for government was fairly minimal, particularly when compared to the facilities that the forum would have by the end of the first century AD. I shall return to the political buildings that were added to the Corinthian forum in the course of that century later.[114] Wherever the early council and magistrates met it seems that they were probably content with fairly modest premises at first.

Space for the gods was also set aside early on. We have seen already how the old Archaic Temple was incorporated into the new civic centre but was more or less excluded from the main forum. The religious emphasis in the square was given instead to the row of temples that lined its western side (see Figure 30). No less than six podium temples eventually came to line the western side of the square, each constructed around a concrete core. The remains are rather fragmentary. Charles Williams has stressed that, as podium temples, the architecture of these buildings was distinctly Roman.[115] The gods that were worshipped in these temples are known thanks to Pausanias' description: Fortune of the City, Venus, Clarian Apollo, Hermes, and Herakles; Neptune had a fountain shrine.[116] It is not clear which god was housed in which temple so they are generally known by the letters D to J, with which the excavators labelled them.[117] Various solutions have been proposed for assigning the gods to the various structures. Charles Williams' interpretation is convincing but the issue need not detain us.[118] An important point that is worth making here is that, while the temple terrace was constructed in the first decades of the colony, the

113 Walbank 1997, 118.
114 At 3.11.
115 Williams 1970, 26; Williams 1987. See also Bookidis 2005, 153.
116 Pausanias 2.2.6–8.
117 Scranton 1951, 3–63.
118 Williams' solution: Temple F was to Venus and probably erected first—Williams 1989, 157 (refers to Williams and Fisher 1975, 2–9); Temple G was dedicated to Clarian Apollo—Williams 1989, 158 (refers to Williams and Fisher 1975, 28. *contra* Scranton 1951, 67 and 70 who identified it as Temple of Tyche); Temple D was for Hermes—Williams 1989, 161. The identification of all of these buildings hinges on the direction in which we assume Pausanias followed in his description. See also Williams and Zervos 1990, 151ff. A fragmentary dedicatory inscription from Temple F bearing the letters "[---]eneri[---]" suggests that that building probably was indeed the Temple of Venus—Walbank 2010, 360.

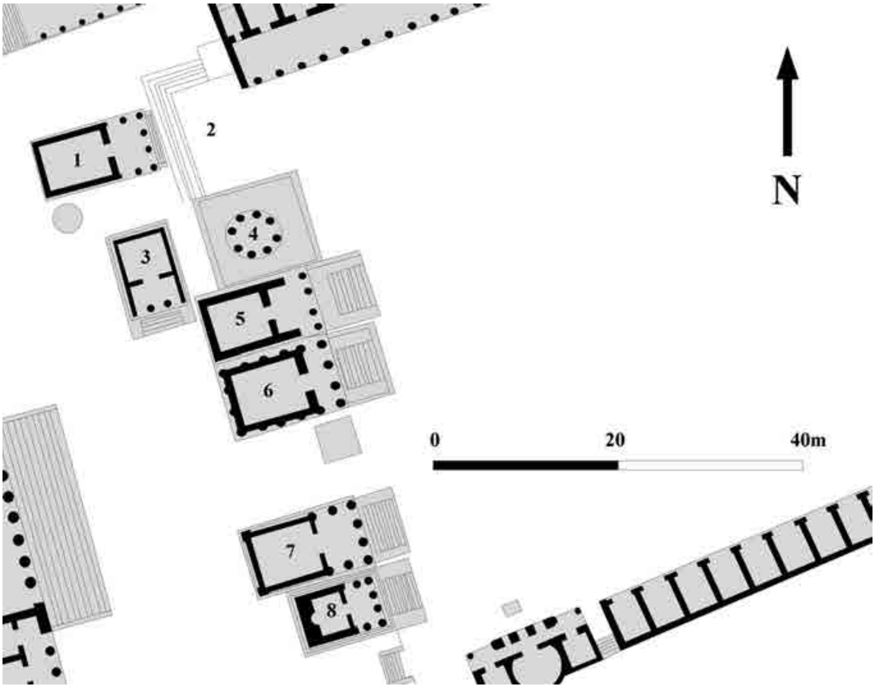

FIGURE 30 *The west terrace at Corinth c. 200 AD (1. Temple D, 2. Couryard, 3. Temple K, 4. Babbius Monument, 5. Temple J, 6. Temple K, 7. Temple G, 8. Temple H)*

temples themselves were, once again, added slowly over time; the last two to be built, H and J, have been dated to the reign of Commodus.[119]

The construction of these buildings entailed the near total destruction of the Fountain of Poseidon, also mentioned by Pausanias, so that that building remains poorly understood.[120] The excavations, however, revealed together with some sculptural fragments from the building a dedicatory inscription to Poseidon by a local benefactor Cn. Babbius Philinus, known from other Corinthian inscriptions to have been active in the late Augustan/early Tiberian period. Babbius also dedicated a monopteros next to the fountain, similar in design to the so-called Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Akropolis of Athens, which may have been the building Pausanias refers to as the "Pantheon".[121]

119 A good discussion of the development of this area can be found on the website of the Corinth Computer Project: http://corinth.sas.upenn.edu/ad150wftemple.html—last accessed 29th May 2015.

120 Scranton 1951, 32–36.

121 Scranton 1951, 17–31.

By far the largest temple found at Corinth stood beyond the forum to the west of the main square. Temple E was surrounded by a precinct wall and stood on its own terrace, the front of which was supported by the so-called west shops.[122] Its orientation deviates from that of the main forum. Williams argues that this came about because Temples F and G and the Fountain of Neptune were already standing at the time it was built. A different orientation was therefore needed so as to create a monumental view of the temple from the main forum square.[123] Because of this, Charles Williams has argued that, although the temple was clearly very important to the later colony, it was not part of the original design of the forum. I shall therefore postpone consideration of it until later.

Finally here, it is worth considering the measures that were taken at Corinth to achieve coordination of the overall plan of the forum. It has long been recognised that fora in Roman cities in the western half of the Empire were typically planned as fully enclosed courts, usually with a basilica on one side and adjacent to a temple.[124] The new Imperial Forums that were built in Rome in the first century and a half of the Principate also consisted of fully enclosed courts.[125] It is therefore not surprising that this is a key area in which scholars have typically tended to contrast Roman forums with old Greek agoras; neither is it surprising that the increasing enclosure of certain agoras in the period of Roman rule has often been attributed to Roman influence. However, complete enclosure was clearly not a priority in laying out the new forum at Corinth.

The southern edge of the forum was, from the beginning, lined by the old Hellenistic South Stoa. Other stoas and rows of shops were added gradually over generations. The so-called Northwest Stoa can be dated to the reign of Augustus at the earliest and is probably much later.[126] The eastern edge of the square was bounded by the Julian Basilica, which was probably built in the early first century AD.[127] The forum was divided into its lower and upper areas at its inception but it was originally divided by a modest stoa in the eastern part and a simple retaining wall in the west, possibly separated by a forerunner of the Rostra.[128] Gradually both the stoa and wall were replaced by the two rows of the so-called Central Shops, which produced a more unified

122 See Chapter 5 by Sarah Elizabeth Freeman's in Stillwell, Scranton et al. 1941.
123 Williams 1989, 162.
124 See Ward-Perkins 1970 for plenty of examples.
125 For a discussion of the Imperial Forums and references see here 3.13.
126 Williams 1989, 156 and 162.
127 Weinberg 1960, 35–57. Cf Scotton 1997 for a more up-to-date discussion.
128 Scranton 1951, 76 and 77–79 respectively.

effect.[129] The southwest edge of the square, beyond the line of the South Stoa, was closed off by the erection of the so-called "Long Rectangular Building", and an archway, in the reign of Nero or Vespasian.[130] The West Shops were created with the enlargement of the temenos of Temple E, in the late first or second century AD, as discussed below.[131] Monumental entrances were also added gradually. In addition to the southwest arch, just mentioned, there was another one, probably Augustan, above the northwest road to Sikyon.[132] The most important entrance to the forum was the arch over the Lechaion Road in the northeast of the square.[133] The first entrance erected at that point was also Augustan, a limestone gateway with three bays. However grand it might have been, this first entrance was fairly modest in comparison with its replacement—the marble arch topped with two gilded chariots conveying Phaethon and Helios, which caught Pausanias' eye.[134] That splendid gateway has been dated to the late first century AD.[135] To the west of that arch, immediately to the left, for a viewer standing in the main forum there was initially a rather untidy recess between the Northwest Stoa and the arch, where the Lechaion Road Basilica stood, set back from the square by about 15 m. That gap was filled by the erection of the grand Captives Façade, named by the archaeologists after the two colossal figures of barbarians that served as architectural supports in the structure (see Figure 31).[136] The façade was for a long time dated to the late second century AD but Volker Michael Strocka has recently made a strong case for a Neronian date, which has already won some approval.[137] Even his earlier date, however,

129 Scranton 1951, 112–118.

130 Williams and Fisher 1976, 127 ff. They suggest there that the building should possibly be connected with an inscribed epistyle and fragments of a pediment found the previous season—Williams and Fisher 1975, 17–22.

131 See 3.10.

132 See http://corinth.sas.upenn.edu/ad150arches.html#sikyonrd (last consulted 3rd June 2015).

133 See Stillwell Ch. 6 in Fowler and Stillwell 1932. See also the more recent study by Edwards 1994. Edwards successfully demonstrates that fragments of a sculptured relief depicting scenes of victory came from the second phase of this arch.

134 Pausanias 2.3.2.

135 Edwards 1994, 292 ff. finds a Trajanic date most likely.

136 The architecture of the building is discussed in Chapter II by Stillwell in Stillwell, Scranton et al. 1941, 55–88. The sculpture from was published in Johnson 1931, 101 ff.

137 Johnson (1931, 106–107) favoured a Hadrianic date or slightly later. Vermeule suggested a much later date (c. 195–200 AD) on the basis of the small semi-circular tabs on the cuirass on the relief on the plinth which he says are characteristic of the period—Vermeule 1986, 71. For the Neronian date see Strocka 2010. Eric Moorman finds Strocka's argument

FIGURE 31 *Colossal figure from the Captive's Façade at Corinth*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

persuasive—Moormann 2013 as, apparently, does Edmund Thomas—Thomas 2013, 177 and n. 122. Cf. Kanellopoulos and Zavvou 2014, 369 who continue to accept the much later date in considering the façade as a parallel for a building on the agora of Gytheion; they cite Strocka's work but do not engage with his argument regarding the date.

would mean that the northeast corner of the square was only given a uniformly level appearance over a century after the foundation of the colony.

This imposing and highly ornamental building was approximately 26 metres long, two stories high and of the Corinthian order. The lower storey featured a row of ten columns; the upper storey had room for ten columns but the places of at least four, possibly as many as eight, were occupied instead by a series of square plinths topped with Corinthian capitals, which were fronted by colossal statues.[138] Two of these survive almost completely and represent men dressed in Eastern garb (one is shown in Figure 31).[139] Several other fragments of sculpture have also been associated with the building, including two colossal female heads thought possibly to represent geographical personifications.[140] The colossal statues stood atop plinths carved with relief decoration, of which two survive. One shows what must be collections of booty, the other what is obviously a scene of capitulation.[141] For this reason the colossal figures have been interpreted as captives, giving rise to the building's modern name. In view of the subject matter it is possible that the façade was erected to commemorate an imperial victory over some Eastern barbarians but it has not been possible to connect it to any specific campaign.[142]

Even if it were a victory monument, one of the main reasons for erecting the façade must have been the visual impact that it would have on the image of the forum. It closed off an untidy recess that had previously existed between the northwest shops and the arch over the Lechaion Road and at the same time served as a monumental entrance to the forecourt of the Lechaion Road Basilica. The elaborate decoration of the building (even if the artistic value of the statues has been found wanting) was far in excess of what was strictly needed here. Colossal statues as architectural supports, though known from elsewhere in the Empire are rare in Greece, certainly at this early date proposed

138 Stillwell (1941, 75) favoured eight statues while admitting that the surviving remains make it impossible to be sure. His text is illustrated by a reconstruction drawing by H.D. Wood (p. 61, Fig. 40) which shows four statues. Vermeule (1986, 71) refers to "a row of, evidently, six figures".

139 Johnson 1931, *217* and *218*.

140 The other pieces are to be found in Johnson 1931, *219–226*. The heads are *221* and *222*. Vermeule (1986, 71) compares these to the heads of goddesses from the frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamon and suggests that they might represent Mesopotamia, Parthia or Media "or two near-frontier cities, depending on what area the Romans were defending when the monument was being planned".

141 Johnson 1931, 224 and 225.

142 Johnson 1931, 106.

by Strocka.[143] It the façade does indeed date to the first century then the captives might be thought of as forerunners of the giants from the porch of the rebuilt Odeion of Agrippa at Athens and the famous Incantadas at Thessalonikē, both of which have been dated to the 2nd century.[144]

The enclosure of the forum at Corinth was achieved piecemeal over a century and a half and was clearly not imposed upon the forum at the beginning of its history. It is worth stressing that the final effect was also far less uniform than that seen in most western fora or in the Imperial Forums at Rome. The contrast with certain other Roman, or even Greek cities, is so great that J.J. Coulton does not consider the Corinthian forum to have been fully enclosed at all.[145] A similar story can be told of the forum at Philippi. Although the forum there was equipped with two monumental entrances on its western and eastern sides by the time of Claudius, which could be closed and locked to prevent access, full enclosure of the space by buildings does not seem to have been achieved before the remodelling of the Antonine period.[146] Enclosure of Greek agoras has often been seen as symptomatic of the political decline of the polis under Roman influence.[147] This interpretation is simplistic and does not stand up to scrutiny on two counts. In the first place it is far less straightforward to read political vitality from the degree of enclosure of public space than the argument assumes. Secondly, the evidence from Corinth and, to a lesser extent, Philippi, shows us that full enclosure of public space was not something that the Romans themselves always desired. This means there is no reason to assume that Rome was the driving force behind the enclosure of public space in Greek cities.

To conclude this section it is useful to summarise what seem to have been the most pressing concerns of the colonists in laying out the forum of the new colony at Corinth. Their priorities were (not necessarily in the order in which they held them): (i) enough open space, (ii) a good public water supply, (iii) allocation of areas where temples would later be erected, and (iv) at least some premises for accommodating politics and civic business. Monumental architecture and enclosure could wait. These priorities are much the same as those seen in Arian's account of Alexander's foundation of Alexandria; they would even have been familiar to the earliest Greek colonists of the Archaic period.[148] It is therefore simplistic to argue that Roman culture provided the

143 Vermeule 1986 considers a full range of comparanda.

144 On the giants see here—4.7; on the Incantadas see Adam-Veleni 2003, 155.

145 Coulton 1976, 174.

146 Sève 1996a, 707.

147 See here 4.3.

148 On Alexander at Alexandria see 1.3.

FIGURE 32 *The Roman Agora today. Seen from the south*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

model for the transformation of the Greek agora into a radically different type of space from that which it had previously been.

3.5 Separate Market Buildings: (i) The Roman Agora at Athens

We have already seen that the development towards cities having more than one agora—one serving more commercial, one serving more civic needs—began as early as the first half of the Hellenistic period.[149] It was also at this time that specialised commercial market buildings made their first appearance, at cities such as Kassope and, in Asia Minor, Priene. However, they were fairly rare and not all commercial agoras were housed in specialised buildings. At Athens, for example, if I am right about the area to the east of the Stoa of Attalos being a marketplace, it consisted of little more than an area of open space. At Athens, Messene, and Thasos it was the old political agora where the most architectural attention was focused in the Hellenistic period, and which became most enclosed. Under the Roman Empire it not only became increasingly common for cities to have more than one agora, the period also witnessed an inversion

149 See 1.1 and 1.3.

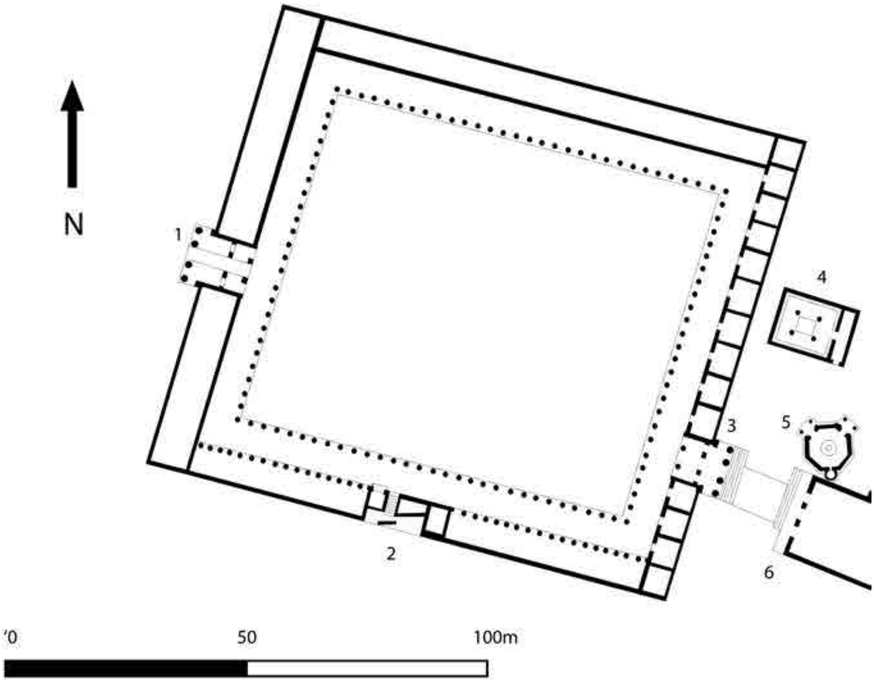

FIGURE 33 *The Roman Agora at Athens* (*1. West Propylon, 2. Fountain, 3. East Propylon, 4. Latrine, 5. Tower of the Winds, 6. "Arcuated Building"*)

of the earlier situation, with it becoming more common for commercial agoras to be housed in specialised buildings, which were typically surrounded on all four sides by colonnades or walls and could only be entered at specific points. The so-called Roman Agora at Athens is surely the best-known ancient market building in Greece (see Figures 32 and 33). It is worth considering this building at some length.

The Roman Agora stood approximately 100 m to the east of the old agora, in the area that I have argued had been set aside as a food market in the second century BC.[150] It consisted of a central open space of 5,700 m^2 surrounded by a peristyle of 112 Ionic columns. In total the building covered an area of over 11,000 m^2. It was oriented WNW/ESE and was slightly longer than it was wide. The eastern side had a row of fifteen rooms, presumably shops, behind the portico.[151] The other sides, so far as it has been possible to ascertain, had a

150 For a basic overview of the monument see Camp 2001, 192–194; Choremi 2004. The most thorough discussion of the building's layout and architecture can be found in Hoff 1988. This aspect of his work has not, unfortunately, been published.

151 On the shops see Sourlas 2012, 121–122.

second stoa instead. The building had its own fountain house in its southern wing, fed by pipes leading from a spring on the west slope of the Akropolis.[152] There were at least three entrances—a small one via a short flight of stairs next to the fountain house and two monumental propylaia, on the west and east sides. The two propylaia are off-centre and not perfectly aligned, which suggests that the building respected an existing road. The western entrance was of the Doric order; the eastern gateway was Ionic. The old road, which had run along the front of the Southeast Shops connected the building with the old agora. The floor of the Roman Agora was some 5 m higher than the road and a staircase led up from a paved forecourt at the end of the road to the western propylon.[153]

This building is familiar to ancient historians, archaeologists and modern day tourists alike and has featured prominently in discussions about what happened to Athens in the Roman period.[154] It is therefore easy to forget that evidence for the building's use and history is actually rather slight. No explicit references to a Roman Agora survive in the ancient literary sources and only a few inscriptions and graffiti have been found in and around the building. Archaeological excavation and study of the building's remains has been rather sporadic. The site was first excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society in the 19th and early 20th centuries, at which time the entire southern wing and most of the east and west sides were exposed.[155] There followed some small-scale Italian excavations in the mid 20th century.[156] Recently the Greek Archaeological Service has excavated outside the boundary of the fenced-off site and has determined the northern limits of the building.[157] The main focus in all of this research has been on the building's architecture. The early excavations in particular (predictably for their time) paid little attention to the small finds that might have provided information about the day-to-day use of the building, though admittedly it is unlikely that much of such material could have survived *in situ* given the building's continued use until well into the Middle Ages. By combining the disparate pieces of evidence previous scholars have managed to arrive at a number of important insights about the building. Spe-

152 See the useful description in Longfellow 2011, 109–110.

153 On the relationship between the road and the Roman Agora see Hoff 2001, 584 and Shear Jr. 1973a.

154 Shear 1981; Alcock 2002, 61–62; Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2008, 15–17.

155 References to the publications of these excavations can be found in Robinson 1943, 293 n. 3.

156 Reported by Vanderpool 1955, 233 and in *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique* 79.

157 Sourlas 2008 (in Greek but with English summary).

cial mention must be made here of Michael Hoff who has studied the building most extensively, in his PhD thesis and in a series of published articles.[158] However, much about the Roman Agora still remains uncertain and controversial.

Our most detailed information about the building concerns the circumstances of its construction, largely due to the dedicatory inscription engraved on the external architrave of the building's western propylon (See Figure 34), which can still be clearly read:

> The people, from the funds given by the divine Gaius Julius Caesar and the Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of the god (dedicate this) to Athena Archegetis during the archonship of Nikias, son of Serapion, of Athmonon, when Eukles of Marathon was Hoplite General, and also Ambassador, who had succeeded his father Herodes as *Epimeletes*.[159]

The inscription has led to the conclusion that the building was begun with funds from Caesar but that the project ran into financial difficulties, possibly as a result of the political and economic tumult caused by the Roman civil wars, so that Augustus had to step in with extra money for its completion. It was dedicated in the archonship of a certain Nikias, which allows its completion to be dated to the year 11/10 BC.[160] The building's connection to Augustus was also emphasised by an equestrian statue of his grandson Lucius which surmounted the propylon, though there has been some debate as to whether that was an original part of the structure.[161] The building is often talked about in modern scholarship as though it were imposed upon the city by the Roman authorities,

158 Hoff 1988. The articles are Hoff 1989, 1994, 2001 and 2006.

159 IG II^2 3175—translation from Hoff 1988, 93.

160 Hoff 1988, 109–110; Hoff 1989, 6–8; Camp 2001, 193; Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2008, 20. Some scholars have proposed that the building was not fully completed until the 1st century AD or later. E.g. Burden argued (1999, 193–196 and 204–209) that the building was constructed in two phases, one Augustan, the other Claudian. Recently it has been established that the building was constructed as a single unified project although it did undergo later modifications—Stephanidou-Tiveriou (ibid., n. 103), Sourlas 2012, 121. Boatwright 2000, 170 argues (with no real evidence) that the building was substantially renovated by Hadrian.

161 Hoff (2001) assumes that it was; Schmalz (2009, 130 pp. 101–102) challenges that assumption on the grounds that (a) monuments for Lucius are unknown before 2 BC and (b) that at the date of the building's dedication (10 BC) Lucius would have been a mere child and therefore an unusual subject for an equestrian statue. The inscribed base of the statue (IG II^2 3251) was recorded by Stuart and Revett and has since disappeared.

FIGURE 34 *The western propylon of the Roman Agora at Athens. The dedicatory inscription (here not visible) was carved on the epistyle.*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

and in particular by Augustus. Susan Walker has drawn parallels between the building and the construction of peristyle complexes at the same time in Ephesos and Cyrene to suggest that they reflect some coherent imperial plan for the cities of the eastern Empire.[162] Most recently Tony Spawforth has said that the building, like the Odeion of Agrippa cannot be seen as an example of "petition and response" on the part of the Athenians but was instead the result of "central initiative".[163] This is surprising because, as others have recognised, there is rather good evidence that the impetus for getting the building erected did come from the Athenians themselves.

162 Walker 1997.

163 Spawforth 2012, 60 and 209.

It has long been recognised that the Herodes and Eukles of Marathon named in the dedicatory inscription belonged to one of the most important elite families in Roman Athens.[164] A descendent of theirs would become one of the most influential men in second century AD Greece, the celebrated sophist and Pan-Hellenic benefactor, Herodes Atticus. The Herodes in the inscription is the first of his line to emerge from historical obscurity. He is known to have been archon and was a correspondent of Cicero's.[165] As John Day and Michael Hoff have argued, Cicero provides evidence that Herodes was not only the original supervisor of the building's construction but was also instrumental in securing the money for it. In one of his letters to his friend Atticus, Cicero asks: "… has Herodes really extorted Caesar out of 50 talents for you Athenians?"[166] The fact that the Roman Agora was Caesar's major benefaction toward the Athenians and that Herodes was the original supervisor of its construction makes it more than likely that the sum in question was used for this building. Hoff provides a further argument to think so.[167] He points out that Cicero goes on to add, "I hear that Pompey has become quite angry on account of it". Pompey is known to have given a similar amount of money to Athens, quite possibly for the construction of a market building, or "deigma" at Piraeus, as I will discuss below.[168] While Caesar probably enjoyed this opportunity to antagonise his great rival, Cicero's take on the situation is clearly that Herodes had to persuade Caesar to part with his money, which hardly suggests that the initiative for the project was on the Roman side.

Eukles followed in his father's footsteps; he was archon in 46/5 BC, served his city as the priest of Apollo Pythios and took over his father's interest in the Roman Agora.[169] As the inscription makes clear, he succeeded him as *epimeletes*, the supervisor of the building's construction.[170] The detail that he

164 E.g. by Day 1942, 241; Hoff 1988, 94; Geagan 1997.

165 Daniel Geagan points out that the man's relationship with Cicero did not begin smoothly—Geagan 1997, 20. He first approached Cicero around 60 BC with a composition on the latter's consulship, which did not please him at all (Cicero *To Atticus 6.1*). A decade and a half later, by the time of Caesar's assassination, the two men are reported to have become correspondents—Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* 24. On his archonship—IG II^2 1716. See also Hoff 1988, 94 and Geagan 1997, 20.

166 Cicero *To Atticus* 6.1.25. The significance of this passage with regard to the Roman Agora is discussed by Day 1942, 241 Hoff 1988, 95–105 and Hoff 1989.

167 Hoff 1988, 95–97; Hoff 1989.

168 See here 3.6.

169 His archonship is known from an inscription on the Stoa of Philip on Delos—Hoff 1988, 101.

170 Daniel Geagan argues that "epimeletes" in this kind of context normally referred to the

was "acting as ambassador" (πρεσβεύσαντος) is significant because it suggests that he, like his father, was the one who had gone to ask for more money for the project from the new emperor, Augustus.

The Roman Agora may well have suited the interests of both Caesar and Augustus. It certainly advertised their power and influence over the city. The statue of Augustus' grandson over the main entrance glorified the new Imperial dynasty. The parallels that Walker points to at other eastern cities are real enough which suggest that the building was at least in tune with the vision the new Roman rulers had for the cities of the eastern Empire. All indications are, however, that the Athenians themselves, and one elite family in particular, played an extremely active role in getting it erected. This is important because it suggests that the degree of local agency might have been similarly high in other instances of imperial benefactions at Athens or elsewhere. In fact there is little reason to suppose that the transformation of public space in Greek cities in this period was ever the result of top-down policies imposed by the imperial centre. Rather they were the result of interaction through which Greek cities negotiated their position in the new political reality. Having considered the circumstances of the building's erection let us now consider what we know of its function.

There are three good reasons for thinking that the Roman Agora was a market building: (i) several Roman period inscriptions relating to the agoranomos have been found in the vicinity;[171] (ii) *topoi* inscriptions were found on the steps of the south portico, assigning fixed places to the sellers of certain goods;[172] (iii) a Hadrianic (and thus admittedly rather late) decree concerning

supervision of construction projects that were financed with outside money—Geagan 1997, 120.

171 A dedication to Livia by the agoranomoi IG II² 3238 and two other inscriptions mentioning an agoranomos, IG II² 3391, and IG II² 3602, were all found in the vicinity of the west gate of the building. Schmalz 2000, 154–155 adds, IG II² 3239 + SEG XXXV, 146 and SEG XXXVII, 149. The name of the magistrate here, however, is a modern restoration and Daniel Geagan argued that other titles could be restored "with more probability"—Geagan 1967, 124.

172 Choremi 2004, 9. Four *topoi* inscriptions were originally found—Hoff 2006, 176. Reported originally in *Praktika tis en Athinais Archaeologikis Etaireias* 1890, 17. See also Graindor 1927b; 192. Hoff 1988, 437–438. At least one of the inscriptions has now certainly disappeared—Hoff 2006, 181–182. I have visited the site often, on one occasion in 2007 specifically to look for these inscriptions, and have never been able to find any of them. The significance of the inscriptions has recently been considered by Sourlas 2012, 122–126 who dates them based on their letter type (fairly difficult for non-official inscriptions) to

the sale of olive oil was inscribed inside the western propylon;[173] this suggests that large quantities of olive oil were being sold in the building in the second century AD;[174] (iv) a row of four cavities of varying size, undoubtedly for the measurement of some product, were carved into a section of the stylobate of the southern stoas;[175] six weights for regulating the trade of foodstuffs and one for—unusually—coal have also been found in the square in the course of the various excavations.[176]

In addition cuttings in the stylobates and columns of the southern and western colonnades show that doors were at some point added here, presumably to subdivide the stoas into a series of rooms that presumably would have functioned as shops.[177] Although these modifications were presumably made fairly late in the building's history—perhaps as late as the 3rd or 4th centuries AD[178]—the likelihood that the building was a commercial establishment in late antiquity provides at least circumstantial evidence that it had always fulfilled this function. In light of all this evidence it is therefore a fairly safe assumption that the Roman Agora was some kind of food market. Because the building has so often been thought of as drawing commercial activity away from the Classical agora it is important to stress that, as argued in the last chapter, it is far more likely that the building simply provided a grand new premises for a market that already existed at that location.[179]

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the 1st or 2nd centuries AD and in an appendix (134–135) gives the full texts with a new commentary.

173 IG II^2 1100 = SEG XV, 108. See Oliver and Clinton 1989, 232–234 for a translation. For a recent discussion of the significance of the edict see Harter-Uibopuu 2008.

174 The decree stipulates that producers of oil had to sell 1/3 of their total production to the city. Dimitris Sourlas has recently argued that the procedure of that payment probably took place in the Roman Agora but that there was insufficient room there for the storage of all the olive oil that must have been produced in the city so the building cannot have been the city's only oil market—Sourlas 2012, 127–128.

175 The discovery was reported in *Praktika* 1890, 16. Geagan 1967, 123 and n. 38. Recently Sourlas 2012, 126 has argued that unlike proper sekomata which usually took the form of tables with cavities and holes for emptying the product, as at Messene (see here 1.4) these cavities in the pavement would have been where measuring vessels stood. He also suggests the possibility that they might not necessary have been for measuring food products but could have been used for other goods such as precious metals or pigments.

176 See Sourlas 2012, 136–138 and for the coal weight p. 130.

177 Sourlas 2012, 123–124.

178 Sourlas 2012, 124.

179 See here 2.6–2.8.

One of the agoranomos inscriptions concerns the dedication of an agoranomeion, or office of those magistrates, by the boule to the Emperor Antoninus Pius.[180] The text is inscribed on an arched lintel decorated with a floral motif. On first consideration it looks rather similar to another arch that belongs to a building excavated to the east of the Roman Agora. That building was therefore originally identified as the agoranomeion.[181] In 1943 Henry Robinson argued that the similarities between the two arches are actually rather superficial and that the arch with the inscription came from a different building altogether; his argument has been generally accepted.[182] Two different interpretations of the building to the east have since been proposed. Michael Hoff has argued that it was a roofed basilica that housed the imperial cult, and that the Roman Agora as a whole should consequently be seen as linked to emperor worship.[183] Geoffrey Schmalz has more recently pointed out that the area in question is rather too large to have been roofed—it was over 44 m long—and argues that this was a large plateia to which the building served merely as an entrance. The plateia would have been framed by two stoas, one of which was the Pergamene-style building that I briefly discussed in Chapter Two.[184] The argument that the arcuated building represents the monumentalisation of a road had been accepted by Dimitris Sourlas.[185]

Assuming that the agoranomeion must therefore be looked for elsewhere within the square Dimitris Sourlas has suggested that it should be looked for either in the vicinity of the east propylon or in a set of two adjoining rooms, one large, the other smaller, next to the fountain in the south wing, which Hoff had previously suggested could have been a magisterial office.[186] While both suggestions are plausible, I propose that we cannot rule out the possibility that the agoranomeion might actually have stood somewhere just outside the Roman Agora itself. The real agoranomeion should probably therefore be looked for between the Roman Agora's western entrance and the old agora, nearer to where the inscribed lintel, and the other agoranomoi dedications, were found.

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180 IG II^2 3391.

181 Graindor 1927a and Graindor 1927b, 196 and n. 2.

182 Robinson 1943, 304. The information board at the site today still describes the building as the agoranomeion.

183 Hoff 1994.

184 Schmalz 2000, 152 ff.; he refers to *Archaiologikon Deltion 27* B 1 (1972) 17–21 and (pls 30–31) on the excavations that revealed the length of this building. See also Schmalz 2009, 108 (p. 89 ff.).

185 Sourlas 2012, 129.

186 Sourlas 2012, 131–132; Hoff 1988, 204–205.

Hoff's interpretation that the Roman Agora should be connected with the imperial cult has also been challenged by Schmalz and others. Although it is true that several altars to Augustus were found in the area of the building it would be wrong to read too much significance into that fact because such small monuments could easily have been moved in later periods.[187] Superficially the Roman Agora as a fully enclosed public space might resemble the new Forums of Julius Caesar and Augustus at Rome or the Caesarea built at Antioch and Alexandria but those complexes were dominated by central temples.[188] The likelihood that the "arcuated building" was an entrance to a road rather than a basilica means that there was no obvious building for the emperor to have been worshipped in. Sourlas has not completely ruled out the possibility of the remains of a temple being discovered within the open space of the agora but that does seem rather unlikely, as even he himself seems to think.[189] Furthermore, the new Imperial Forums at Rome were both created as the setting for civic business.[190] The character of the Roman Agora was very different. While it is conceivable that a temple to the imperial cult might have been set up in an existing market place it is hard to imagine that a complex intended at the outset as a precinct for emperor worship would also have been intended as a food market. It is true that we cannot rule out that some of the rooms of the Roman Agora might have been used for emperor worship but on the other hand there is no particular reason to suppose that they were.[191] The fact that cult places for emperor worship were found on agoras elsewhere is not particularly relevant because those agoras were typically multipurpose public squares where political buildings and other temples were also found.[192] If the Roman Agora was indeed thought of as an agora it was a very different type of square.

The question of what the Roman Agora was called in antiquity has actually received very little attention in modern scholarship. The building is sometimes referred to as the Roman market, or the Market of Caesar and Augustus,

187 Torelli 1995.

188 Pointing to the significance of these resemblances: Shear 1981, 359–360 and Walker 1997. Cf Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2008, 17–18 with references in n. 73 to recent scholarship on the Caesarea at Antioch and Alexandria.

189 Sourlas 2012, 132. In agreement see also Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2008, 18.

190 On which see here 3.13.

191 Several scholars have speculated along these lines including: Hoff 1994, 112, Baldassari 1998, 103 and 257–258, Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2008, n. 80, Sourlas 2012, 132.

192 Cf Sourlas 2012, 132 who suggests the situation on other agoras do present relevant parallels. On emperor worship on agoras see Evangelidis 2008.

but "Roman Agora" is probably the name most often used. That is significant because it serves to reinforce the idea that the construction of the building signalled a transfer of function away from the old agora; it implies that the old "Greek agora" was in some way superseded by the new "Roman" one.[193] It is therefore worth stressing that the name "Roman Agora" is a purely modern coinage. No ancient inscription tells us the name of the building and although there are at least three literary passages that possibly mention it, and which I shall consider below, none of these attestations is certain. Whether it is likely that the Roman-period Athenians thought of this building as an "agora" at all is an issue that needs to be addressed, particularly because it has bearing on the types of space that the word "agora" could encompass at this time.

The Roman-period Greeks certainly had other words for specialised market buildings that they could have used to describe the market: "deigma", and "makellos" are both attested.[194] That there was some degree of flexibility in the way that such terms were used is suggested in a passage in which Cassius Dio tells us that "[Nero] celebrated so many sacrifices for his preservation, as he expressed it, [in 59 AD,] and dedicated *the provision market* (*agoran tōn opsōn*) *called the Macellum*" (my emphases).[195] A macellum, or enclosed market building, is thus here a type of agora—the first indication that the Roman Agora at Athens might indeed have been thought of as an "agora". Then there is the fact that throughout the Greek world the responsibilities of the agoranomos continued, as they had when Aristotle wrote his *Politeia*, to consist of regulating of trade.[196] This suggests that whether the political, religious or commercial function of the Greek agora had come first, by Roman times the commercial connotations of the word "agora" had become deeply ingrained in Greek culture, as indeed they continue to be to this day; this is the primary meaning of the word in Modern Greek. Trade could, of course, still have taken place on multipurpose squares where other types of public activity, such as politics and religion, were also accommodated, as had been the case in Classical times and probably still was, to some degree, in many Roman period poleis. However, the clear commercial connotations of the word suggest that where cities did indeed have dedicated markets for the trading of foodstuffs or other

193 In my years studying Greek agoras I have often encountered the opinion, among both scholars and laypersons, that the "Roman Agora" *was* the agora of the city in the Imperial period, as though the old Classical agora had now become defunct.

194 The market building at Mantineia (discussed here at 3.6) is referred to as a "makellos" in the inscription IG V^2 268 l. 45.

195 Cassius Dio 61.19.1.

196 On the functions of the agoranomos see here p. 184 n. 263.

commodities these would indeed have been known as "agoras". I have already presented the "agoranomos" inscriptions, found near the Roman Agora, as an argument that the building was used for commerce. If trade within the building was overseen by a magistrate with the word "agora" in his title, they would also suggest that the building would have been thought of as an agora. At Ephesos, the famous "Tetragonos Agora", attested epigraphically by that name, most certainly was a market building.[197] Architecturally it is very similar to the Roman Agora at Athens, the two buildings are roughly the same size and were erected around the same time.[198] This also adds weight to the idea that the Athenian building too would have been known as an agora. Finally, the word "agora" also appears frequently in Roman period literary sources to refer to "the market" in the abstract sense, which suggests it could also be used of physical market buildings.[199]

As mentioned above, there are also three possible literary references to the Roman Agora, which use the word "agora". The first is Strabo's mention of an "Eretrian agora" at Athens, which he refers to as a market.[200] Several scholars have suggested that this might have been the name of a market area that previously existed in the location where the Roman Agora was built, presumably assuming that it cannot have been a name for the building itself because Strabo must have visited Athens before it was dedicated.[201] Given that building work probably began under Julius Caesar, however, the building must at least have been under construction when Strabo was in Athens and may already have been functioning. In any case the likelihood of an older market square, known as an "agora", at the location of the Roman Agora would suggest that the name might have been retained for the new market building.

The second potential reference can be found in Pausanias. In discussing the Classical agora the *periegete* refers to the square as the "Kerameikos", the area of the city in which it was located.[202] He then uses the word agora twice at the

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197 A succinct summary of the building can be found in Scherrer 2000, 138–147. A thorough study of the building has been published—Scherrer, Trinkl et al. 2006. The inscriptions in which the building is named are Ephesos 272 l. 13–14 and 2618 l. 10.

198 The Tetragonos Agora was begun between 20 and 10 BC. Perhaps the biggest difference between the two buildings is that at the one at Ephesos the stoas had two storeys.

199 See I.1.

200 Strabo 10.447–8.

201 E.g. Travlos 1971, 28; Vanderpool 1974, 308–310, Sourlas 2012, 119.

202 The "Kerameikos" was not properly a deme although the area does seem to have been roughly coterminous with the deme "Kerameis". The word seems to have been used by different authors in different ways to refer to parts of the city, from the area near the

end of that description: first to locate the "Altar of Pity" and then to locate the Gymnasium of Ptolemy as being "near the agora".[203] The idea that Pausanias is making a deliberate distinction here and is using the word "agora" to describe an area other than the old Classical agora has become fairly widely accepted.[204] Eugene Vanderpool once proposed that Pausanias might have been referring to the "Roman Agora" when he uses the word "agora" in his description of Athens, a suggestion that has won some adherents.[205] However, several scholars have rejected Vanderpool's suggestion and have argued that Pausanias was instead referring to the old "Archaic agora".[206] This interpretation relies on some highly questionable assumptions about Pausanias' approach to describing cities and about his use of the word agora and depends upon accepting that an Archaic agora could still be recognised in Roman Athens even though no other source refers to it even in Classical times from which, of course, we have a relative abundance of literary evidence.[207] I have argued elsewhere that if Pausanias was making a distinction between the "Kerameikos" and an "agora" elsewhere in the city then it is likely that Vanderpool was right that it was almost certainly the Roman Agora that he was referring to.[208]

Dipylon Gate and including the cemetery outside it (the site of the German "Kerameikos" excavations) or a larger area stretching from the gate to the agora. Several authors in Roman times use the word in referring to the location of buildings and monuments known to have stood in the agora (see Wycherley 1957, ***221–224***) though Wycherley argues that Pausanias was alone in thinking that the name referred purely to the Classical agora. For a thorough and recent consideration of the problem of the area that the name applied to in antiquity see Papadopoulos 2003, *passim*.

203 Pausanias 1.17.2.

204 Although Cf Marchetti 2012, 214–216 who argues that Pausanias is simply using two words for the same square and Hitzl 2003, who argues for an unneccesarily complicated reading of Pausanias in which his "agora" is a part of the main square that has become isolated from it by the Stoa of Attalos but lying outside the Roman Agora where Pausanias must have seen an old Classical boundary stone like those found in the west of the square.

205 Vanderpool 1974. Vanderpool's suggestion is accepted by Camp 2001, 193; Miller 1995a, 202; Kenzler 1997, 121.

206 See here Introduction n. 30.

207 I.e. that Pausanias would not use the word "agora" for a fairly modern market building, that the location of the Roman Agora does not fit his topographic sequence, that his "description" does not fit the Roman Agora's appearance. These assumptions have been used by Robertson 1998, Papadopoulos 2003, 1996 and Schmalz 2006 to argue that Pausanias must have been referring to the old Archaic agora.

208 Dickenson 2015.

The third possible reference to the Roman Agora comes from Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*. Although I have argued for the significance of this passage elsewhere,[209] because it has, to my knowledge, gone unnoticed by previous scholars it is worth citing in full:

> Lollianos of Ephesos was the first to be appointed to the chair of rhetoric at Athens, and he also governed the Athenian people, since he held the office of Hoplite General of that city. The functions of this office were formerly to levy troops and lead them to war, but now it has charge of the food-supplies and the *provision market* (*sitou agoras*) (my emphases).[210]

Of course the term "sitou agoras" need not necessarily refer to a physical place; it could have been used instead to describe grain trade. However, elsewhere Philostratus uses the very similar term "sitou emporia" to refer to an actual building, a structure that Hadrian bestowed upon the city of Smyrna.[211] I have already mentioned that when Cassius Dio uses the rather similar phrase, "agoran tōn opsōn" he also means an actual market building.[212] The anecdote that immediately follows this passage in Philostratus seems also to suggest that he is referring to a physical location here: he describes how Lollianos narrowly avoided getting stoned to death in the "breadsellers' quarter" (*ta artopōlia*) during a food shortage.[213] Given the connection between bread and grain, the obvious inference is that this was an area within the "sitou agora".

In light of Philostratus' comment on the responsibilities of the "Hoplite General" it is worth considering the implications of the fact that this magistracy is explicitly referred to in the dedicatory inscription of the Roman Agora. The text states that Eukles of Marathon supervised the final stages of the building's construction as epimeletes while at the same time serving as Hoplite General.[214] We have already noted the active role that previous commentators have ascribed to Eukles' father Herodes in securing the intial funding for the

209 Dickenson 2015, 751–752.

210 Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* 1.526.10–21.

211 *Lives of the Sophists* 1.531.15–21.

212 See n. 195 above.

213 *Lives of the Sophists* 1.531.15–21.

214 IG II^2 3175—translated in Hoff 1988, 93. Daniel Geagan argues that "epimeletes" in this kind of context normally referred to the supervision of construction projects that were financed with outside money—Geagan 1967, 120.

building from Julius Caesar.[215] The detail in the dedicatory inscription that Eukles was "acting as ambassador" (πρεσβεύσαντος) suggests that he not only took over the supervision of the building's construction from his father, but approached Augustus, as Herodes had approached Caesar, to ask for more money for the project. This father and son team seem to have been the driving force behind getting the Roman Agora built. The detail that Eukles was "Hoplite General" offers the key to understanding just why they went to such efforts but its significance has gone unremarked in previous discussions of the building. Strikingly Eukles' father too is attested epigraphically as having held the post of Hoplite General.[216] It is surely because these two men were responsible for Athens' grain trade that they were keen for the city to have a new food market. The building enhanced the commercial amenities of the city while their involvement in securing the benefaction advertised their diligence in carrying out their duties. The mention of Eukles' position as Hoplite General in the dedicatory inscription was not merely incidental information, or simply intended to proclaim his importance, but was rather intended to stress the link between his position and the building's purpose. A potential parallel here is the so-called "Agora of Theophrastos" on Delos, which was a benefaction in 126/5 BC by an Athenian of that name who was serving as epimeletes of the island at that time; John Day pointed out that as epimeletes Theophrastos was responsible for commerce on the island, which presumably explains why he wanted to build a market building.[217]

To return to the Roman Agora, the link between the magistracy of Hoplite General and the building in turn provides further argument for thinking that

215 See p. 242.

216 The inscription consists of three fragments combined in Woodhead 1997, *335* = I 6691+ IG II^2 1051 +IG II^2 1058. Mention of this man occupying the position of Hoplite General is at IG II^2 1051b l. 1–2. The date of his tenure of office is uncertain—Woodhead (1997, 472), drawing on Sarikakes 1951, 61, dates his generalship to 60 BC. Daniel Geagan has argued for a date post 42 BC—Geagan 1997. His discussion of Herodes is, however, confusing because he makes it seem as if the man from the building dedication and the Hoplite General were two different people. After discussing the Herodes from the building inscription (ibid., 21) he continues: "in the years following the Battle of Philippi *a man named Herodes* held the Hoplite Generalship four times" (my emphasis). This makes it seem as though he is introducing the reader to a new individual. However his table of Hoplite Generals (p. 22) names this man as "Herodes son of Eukles of Marathon", and makes clear that he is the man from the dedicatory inscription of the Roman Agora because Cicero and Caesar are listed as his friends. Geagan relies on Ameling for a post-Philippi date for his occupation of the position—Ameling 1983b, 40–42.

217 Day 1942, 52–53 and 55. IDD 1645, Durrbach *Choix* 95.

the building was indeed a food market and that it was the "agora" in which Lollianos faced the angry mob. If the Hoplite Generals of the first century BC had been responsible for the building's construction it makes sense to think that those magistrates would still have been carrying out much of their public duties there in the second century AD when Lollianos was active. When Philostratus also tells us that the Athenians set up a statue of Lollianos in the "agora", given his connection to the city's grain markets, and in light of the concentration of agoranomoi inscriptions in the vicinity of the Roman Agora, it is surely likely that the monument was erected in this building rather than in the old civic agora.[218]

A final reason for thinking that when Philostratus uses the word "agora" in his discussion of Athens, he is thinking of the Roman Agora is that he, like Pausanias, uses the word "Kerameikos" on several occasions to refer to the old Classical agora.[219] Being near-contemporaries, it therefore seems likely that the two men are making the same distinction between the old Classical agora and the new Roman market. It was quite possibly the erection of the Roman market building, known locally as an "agora", that necessitated finding a new way to refer to the old Classical agora to avoid ambiguity. On the whole then it seems likely that the Athenians did indeed think of, and refer to, their new market building as *an* agora. It is finally important to stress that this does not mean there is any reason suppose that they ever called it the "*Roman* Agora". The distinction is an important one. In the previous chapter I argued that the widely held view that the Roman Agora took over the commercial function of the Classical agora makes little sense because it was most likely constructed in an area that had long served as a marketplace. Later in this chapter we will see that the Classical agora retained many of its most important public functions and was in no way superseded as the heart of the city by the new building, as using the name "Roman Agora" might seem to imply. First, however, it is important to place the Roman market building at Athens in the context of contemporary developments elsewhere.

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218 *Lives of the Sophists* 1.527.25–26 = Wycherley 1957, ***703***.

219 *Lives of the Sophists* 1.571.24–25 = Wycherley 1957, ***522***. Philostratus also, however, uses the word "Kerameikos" in its broader sense to refer to the area near the Dipylon gate—*Lives of the Sophists* 2.550.11 = Wycherley 1957, ***199***. Whether he always calls the Classical agora the "Kerameikos" is hard to say. The *Lives of the Sophists* contains a third reference to an "agora" at Athens (2.603.18), in addition to the two discussed here, which includes no contextual information to cast light on which square he was thinking of here. For other Roman period authors and the use of the word "Kerameikos" see n. 202 above.

3.6 Separate Market Buildings: (ii) the Bigger Picture

A particularly close parallel for the Athenian market building is documented for Athens' port, Piraeus. Just before the beginning of the Imperial period, Pompey is known to have given the city 50 talents, which most likely paid for the erection of a "deigma" there, the so-called "Deigma of Magnus", attested epigraphically.[220] Michael Hoff has argued that Pompey's benefaction at Piraeus might have persuaded his great rival Julius Caesar to match the amount in granting the Athenians funds to build the Roman Agora. It is certainly striking that 50 talents was also the exact sum that Caesar gave to the city, at the instigation of Herodes of Marathon, the first epimeletes of the Roman Agora, as attested in Cicero's letter.[221] The closely parallel nature of the two benefactions also supports Hoff's argument for direct competition here on the part of the two generals. Hoff has also argued that this "deigma" was probably constructed in an area that had served as a marketplace since Classical times, just as I have argued was the case for the Roman Agora at Athens.[222] Perhaps the "deigma" at Piraeus was one of the two agoras that Pausanias reports seeing at the harbour town.[223] New market buildings are also attested at cities outside Attica in the early Imperial period.

At Corinth in the first century AD there were no less than four market buildings all located within a five minute walk of the main forum:[224] just to

220 Plutarch tells us that Pompey gave 50 talents to the city (*Life of Pompey* 42.11). The "deigma of Magnus" is mentioned in IG II–III^2 1035 l. 47. For the suggestion that the money paid for this building see Day 1942, 145–151; Hoff 2005, 333; Garland 1987, 154 and 219 with references to previous arguments that this Magnus was indeed Pompey.

221 Cicero *To Atticus 6.1.25*. On connecting this reference to the building see here 3.5.

222 Hoff 2005, 333 n. 27. As Hoff points out both Xenophon (*Hellenica* 5.1.21) and Demosthenes (*Oration* 35.29) attest to the existence of the deigma at Piraeus in Classical times. Garland too has recognised that the deigma had existed since Classical times and suggests that Pompey rebuilt it following damage incurred in Sulla's attack (1987, 83–84). See also ibid. p. 154 for a brief consideration of the full range of evidence.

223 He describes seeing a portrait of Leosthenes in a stoa where "stands a market-place for those living near the sea—those farther away from the harbour have another"—Pausanias 1.1.3. Garland interprets this agora as the so-called emporion that is widely attested in the ancient sources (1987, 152 ff.). He sees the deigma as part of the emporion where merchandise was set out for sale. A problem with his idea that the deigma was merely a part of this emporion is that the large sum of money Pompey gave to the town was the same as that which Caesar gave for the construction of the Roman Agora and would, therefore, have been enough for a similarly large-scale construction project.

224 Williams 1993.

the north of Peirene was a building interpreted as a fish-market;[225] on the other side of the Lechaion Road there was a market building just to the north of the basilica;[226] on the north side of Temple Hill stood the so-called "north market";[227] finally a fourth market building has been partially excavated on the west side of Temple Hill.[228] Charles Williams has argued that a lot of these amenities can be connected with a rapid expansion of the commercial facilities of the city in the reign of Claudius.[229] It is worth stressing, however, that not all commerce was excluded from the main forum. I have already mentioned the so-called Central Shops and West Shops that lined two sides of the main square. Williams has suggested that these might have been used for selling precious metals or for banking.[230]

At Philippi a peristyle complex just to the south of the forum has been identified as a commercial market (see Figure 45). It consisted of a court surrounded by a stoa and with a grand portico opening towards the north.[231] Although the building dates to the Antonine period, as do most of the buildings in the civic centre of Philippi, perhaps this was already a market area in the early Imperial period. The building was separated from the main forum by a road, lined on the north side by a row of shops. At either end of these shops were stairs or ramps that led up into the rear of the southern colonnade of the forum. By the time of Augustus Messene had a *pantópōlis stoá* (an "everything market") and a *kreopōlion* (meat market) both attested to an inscription describing their repair at that time.[232] Migeotte has argued that both probably stood on or near the agora and Themelis has suggested that these might have been names for some of the stoas of the agora.[233] The first building is indeed explicitly referred to as a stoa; the meat market, however, might have been a fully enclosed market building. An inscription from Mantineia and probably from the Augustan period records

225 Williams 1993, 39–40 with references.

226 Williams 1993, 40–41 with references.

227 Williams 1993, 41–44 with references; the building has also been considered in full by Scranton 1951, 180 ff.; see also de De Waele 1930.

228 Williams 1993, 44–45 with references.

229 Williams 1993, 45–46.

230 Williams 1993, 36–37. Williams points to Vitruvius' recommendations that bankers' offices should surround the forum—5.1.2 and Plutarch's comment that Corinth had become a major banking centre by his day—*That we ought not to borrow. Moralia* 831a.

231 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2003, 42 and figure; Sève 1996b, 128.

232 The full text is given in Migeotte 1985, who also provides the most extensive discussion of the inscription to date, with earlier bibliography. "τὰν παντόπωλιν στοὰν" (l. 20); "το κρεοπώλίον" (l. 34). See also SEG XXIII 205–207 and XXXV 343.

233 Migeotte 1985; Themelis 2004b.

a whole list of buildings erected by two benefactors, Euphrosynos and his wife Epigone, which included a "makellos".[234] This market building was originally identified with the remains of a building on the north side of the agora but F.E. Winter has challenged this interpretation; he points out that of all the buildings referred to in the inscription, only a so-called "peristyle" is explicitly connected in the text with the agora. He therefore suggests that the other buildings should be looked for elsewhere.[235] This would not rule out the possibility that the makellos would have stood somewhere near the agora.

At Sparta, Pausanias uncharacteristically mentions a commercial building, which was located somewhere in the centre of the city, probably not far from the agora.[236] He describes it as square with a colonnade and says that it used to be used for the trading of small goods (rōpos). Tony Spawforth has suggested on the basis of Pausanias' apparent reference to the axial planning of the building that it was probably Hellenistic.[237] He also speculates that because it had been abandoned by Pausanias' day it had probably been replaced by a more modern commercial building, such as the so-called "Roman Stoa".[238] This is reading too much significance into the periegete's words. Pausanias' description is not detailed enough to allow the building to be dated but, if anything, there are

234 IG V. 2 268. The inscription refers to the city by the name Antigoneia, which means that the benefactions predate the reign of Hadrian, who restored the city's original name. Fougères originally dated the inscription to the reign of Vespasian or Titus—Fougères 1896, 124 ff.; Wilamowitz subsequently dated it to between 10 BC and 10 AD and his dating has been generally accepted—von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 1900, 536, Spawforth 2012, 225–229 and Baladié 1980, 299–300. The benefactions listed are: the *makellos*, *ergasteria*, an *exedra*, a *baitê* (probably a heated hall—see Gossage 1959) and a *peristylos*. On the benefactions see also here 3.10 and 3.16.

235 Winter 1987, 242–243.

236 Pausanias 3.13.6. The *periegete* locates the building somewhere near the 'House of Krios' where the hero 'Karneos' was worshipped. For a convincing reconstruction of Pausanias' itinerary that would allow the market building to be located see Sanders 2009, especially 201–202. Sanders also argues that this Spartan cult of Karneos was separate and distinct from that of Apollo Karneos.

237 Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 134. They say that "rōpos" was a term "particularly associated with travelling merchants" (their inverted commas) without any reference to where the quote comes from.

238 There is no reason to suppose that the building had been replaced by the Roman Stoa. The stoa is currently the only substantial structure of appropriate date, and potentially of a commercial character, that has been found at Sparta, but because neither the agora nor Pausanias' market building have yet been discovered its topographical relationship to both is largely a matter of speculation. On this stoa see 4.2 here.

good reasons to assume it was less old than Spawforth supposes. Although specialised market buildings were known in Hellenistic times it was under the early Empire that they became common. By the mid 2nd century AD when Pausanias was writing, a market building of the early Imperial period could have been thought of as old. Until the archaeological remains of the building are found any attempt to date it stylistically is pointless but from what is known of developments elsewhere the late 1st century BC or early 1st century AD would be a plausible context in which to place the building.

For our purposes an interesting aspect of Pausanias' reference to the Spartan market building is that he locates it in close proximity to a number of religious cults—the only reason that he mentions it at all—with epithets connected with politics: Zeus of Counsel, Athena of Counsel and the Dioskouroi of Counsel. These are just the sorts of gods we would normally expect to find on or near an agora.[239] Their presence near the market building suggests that the whole area had once been part of the Spartan agora; it is therefore possible that the erection of this market building brought about the same segregation of politics and commerce that we have seen taking place at other agoras. Also at Sparta, a second century AD inscription mentions a "makellon" and a granary.[240] Presumably these two commercial buildings too would have stood near the agora. Just when they were erected is impossible to say.

Finally, at Thasos a new macellum was also constructed in Imperial times above the market building that had been built to the west of the agora in the Hellenistic period.[241] Excavations of the building took place intermittently in the early twentieth century and in the last decade more intensively. Because much of this work has taken place only very recently the building has not been published in full but it has been discussed rather fully in a recent article by Jean-Yves Marc.[242] Marc dates the Roman phase of the building, which consisted of a central paved court measuring c. 25 × 25 m, surrounded by an Ionic colonnade with rooms, presumably shops, to the rear of the southeast and southwest sides, to sometime between the reigns of Claudius and Hadrian.[243] Drawing on work by S. Lepetz and W. van Andringa, Marc stresses the proximity of the

239 An inscription to Zeus Eubouleus was found at the agora of Mantineia—Fougères 1896, 133–134; Fougères 1898, 174–177; Winter 1987, 240.

240 IG V.1.149 (SEG XI, 600) and 151 (SEG XI, 598); mentioned by Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 130.

241 Discussed here at 2.9.

242 Marc 2012.

243 Marc 2012, 225. Marc, Mougin et al. 2007. There the emphasis was placed on the Hellenistic levels, on which see 2.9.

macellum to the agora was in part the product of religious practice because he assumes that the meat that would have been sold there would have come from sacrificed animals.[244] He stresses the significance of the way that the monumental propylon that was the building's main entrance from the old agora was placed directly opposite the Hellenistic altar in that square.[245]

Macella are often thought of as a particularly Roman type of building and Marc has pointed out that although their numbers increased in Greece in Imperial times they were much rarer there than in the Roman west or in north Africa.[246] Nonetheless, he also makes a strong case that the history of Greek public space played a greater role in the development of the macellum than previous scholars have suspected.[247] He points to the early date of the Hellenistic precursor of the macellum at Thasos and connects it with the similarly early market buildings at Kassope and Priene and with the late Classical/early Hellenistic development of two separate agoras at Miletos. He is certainly right that the introduction of new market buildings in Roman times did not mark a radical break in the history of Greek urban design. In addition to his examples I have also argued that Messene had a dedicated political agora, from which trade was excluded, in the form of the Asklepieion complex in the second half of the Hellenistic period, and that the creation of a specialised commercial space at Athens took place in the mid second century BC with the erection of the Stoa of Attalos rather than with the erection of the Roman Agora in the first.[248] The key difference with earlier times, however, is that it was now much more common for commercial markets to be housed in fully enclosed, purpose-built structures.

Whether the Greeks thought of such fully enclosed market buildings as agoras is as pertinent a question for other cities as it is for Athens but there is, unfortunately, even less evidence from elsewhere to attempt an answer. The more general arguments made for the Athenian building, combined with the fact that the word "agora" and its cognates covered a wide range of things connected with commerce suggest, however, that they probably did.[249]

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244 Marc 2012, 228. He includes (ibid. n. 9) a long catalogue of relevant articles by Lepetz and van Andringa including, perhaps most pertinently, Lepetz 2007 and van Andringa 2008.

245 Marc 2012, 230.

246 Marc 2012, 228.

247 Marc 2012, 232–236.

248 In sections 2.6–2.8.

249 On the commercial associations of the word "agora" see here 1.1.

3.7 Odeia and Theatre-Like Buildings: (i) the Odeion of Agrippa at Athens

It is once again useful to begin with Athens in considering another type of building that was often erected on or in the vicinity of the agora in the early Imperial period—the odeion. Modern scholars have made much of the erection of a new odeion in the centre of the old agora in the reign of Augustus.[250] The Odeion of Agrippa (see Figures 35 and 37) is widely believed to have taken up so much of the open space of the square that there was no room left for most of the activities that had previously taken place there. Penelope Allison summarises the current consensus succinctly:

> These Roman transformations … had a powerful symbolic impact: they filled in the Agora whose open public space was essential to Athenian democracy[251]

The building is usually discussed in connection with other buildings that were erected in the square in the Augustan period, in particular two temples, hence Allison's reference to *these* transformations. I shall have more to say about these buildings in due course. Recently Karl Galinsky has cited these temples and the Odeion as a rare occasion on which Augustus directly imposed his will upon the built environment of a subject city and did so to "[disrupt] the flow of civic activities of a populace that had been rather uppity".[252] Tony Spawforth has also seen the building as deliberate intervention on the part of the new emperor, ruling out that the building was constructed in response to a petition on behalf of the Athenians.[253] The supposed infilling of the agora by the Odeion has often been connected with the creation of the new Roman Agora, which is seen to have been needed to take over the commercial function of the old agora now that there was no longer sufficient open space there. These assumptions—that the amount of space lost was damaging to the agora's

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250 E.g. Shear 1981; Also Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 113: "aggressively this interesting but far from beautiful building intruded on the old market square." Homer Thompson had earlier been less harsh in his assessment and also connected it with the new market facilities of the Roman Agora. He also saw a direct parallel at Rome where a new forum was built under Julius Caesar and not long after a temple of the deified Julius Caesar took up a lot of room on the old forum—Thompson 1950b, 95–96, 98.

251 Allison 2003, 216.

252 Galinsky 2012, 166.

253 Spawforth 2012, 59.

function as a public space, that the Roman Agora took over the old square's commercial function at this time, and that this was a top-down intervention on the part of Augustus—are all questionable and deserve serious reconsideration.

I have already argued, in Chapter Two, that far too much has been made of the effect that the Roman Agora had on the commercial function of the old square. Likewise far too much has been made of the space taken up by the Odeion, an issue that I will return to later in this chapter. At this point it is important to question whether this development really was so typical. I will argue here that thinking about cultural buildings on other agoras at this time puts the Athenian situation into new perspective. On the one hand new odeia on or near the agora were fairly common in the Imperial period, which counts against seeing the Athenian situation in one-sided, negative terms. On the other hand the erection of such buildings in the central open space of the agora was rare which means we need to ask why Athens was exceptional in this regard. We need to begin, however, by discussing the building at Athens in more detail. Before turning to the Odeion's impact on the square let us first consider the nature of the building and what is known of its erection and function.

Pausanias describes seeing an "odeion" in his tour of the Athenian agora.[254] Philostratus refers to a building in the Athenian Kerameikos where lectures were given and which he calls the Agrippeion.[255] "Kerameikos", as we have seen is also the word that Pausanias uses for the agora so the two men must be talking about the same building. These references have been associated with the remains of an extremely large building located fairly centrally in the open square and dated by pottery from the underlying fills to the Augustan period.[256] From the name that Philostratus uses it is assumed to have been a benefaction on the part of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, Augustus' son-in-law and right hand man, the victorious general at the decisive battle of Actium.[257]

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254 Pausanias 1.8.6 ff. and 1.14.1 = Wycherley 1957, *521*.

255 Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* 1.571.24–52 and 2.579.3–4 = Wycherley 1957, *522* and *523*.

256 It was one of the earliest buildings on the agora to be the subject of detailed architectural study—Thompson 1950b. The building has also been seen to have shared various stylistic features with the "Roman Agora", thus suggesting the two were erected around the same time—Thompson 1950b, 86–87.

257 Stephen Mitchell calls Agrippa "the most conspicuous builder apart from the emperors themselves" and also suggests that Agrippa himself may have helped design the roofing schemes for this odeion and a Temple of Zeus at Heliopolis in Syria—Mitchell 1987, 335. See also Meiggs 1982, 84–85.

Agrippa is known to have been in Athens sometime between 16 and 14 BC and it is assumed that work on the building began then.[258] It was probably around the same time that the large quadriga monument just outside the propylaia of the Akropolis, which had probably originally been erected to honour Eumenes II of Pergamon, was also rededicated to Agrippa.[259] There was also a large statue base next to the Odeion itself and contemporary with it. The base has not been given much attention after its initial discovery but it is a reasonable inference that it carried a statue of the benefactor.[260]

The building consisted of a roughly square auditorium with a marble cavea and a varicoloured marble orchestra floor. Behind that there was a narrow stage building. The auditorium was surrounded by a two-storeyed portico. On the ground floor the building was entered through a porch on the north side. The building was situated in the centre of the agora and backed onto the terrace of the Middle Stoa. The upper floor of the portico was entered from this terrace and faced outward onto the agora as well as inward to the auditorium. The order of the building was Corinthian, with rows of half pilasters set into the walls of the south, east and west sides and a row of freestanding columns on the north.[261] It was a highly decorated building with niches for heroic sized bronze statues along the inside walls of the auditorium, a stage building decorated with male and female herms and a colossal marble Dionysus, which probably stood

258 Burden 1999, 80, 76, Baldassari 1998, 139. The date of Agrippa's visit to Athens had been established before the discovery of the Odeion—Reinhold 1933, 106–110 and Graindor 1927b, 49.

259 Dinsmoor once tentatively suggested (Dinsmoor 1920), drawing on ancient literary evidence, that prior to its rededication to Agrippa the base had, for a short time, supported a statue group of Antony and Cleopatra. Plutarch says that colossal statues of Eumenes II and Attalos II on the Akropolis had been rededicated to Antony (*Antony* 60.6) and Cassius Dio refers to statues of Antony and Cleopatra on the sacred rock which were struck by lightening on the eve of the Battle of Actium—50.15.3. However, Dio says that those statues fell into the Theatre of Dionysos, which meakes it unlikely that they could have stood at the western end of the Akropolis; Plutarch refers explicitly to colossal statues while the base near the propylaia must have supported a quadriga group. There were probably, therefore, several different statuary monuments to the Attalids on the Akropolis. On the various Attalid monuments on the Akropolis see also Habicht 1990, 572–574. The dedicatory inscription to Agrippa is IG II–III^2 3173. See also here p. 147.

260 Thompson 1950b, 71–72—who notes the advantageous position of the monument: "which would have shown to splendid advantage rising against the front of the Odeion in clear view of those coming up the Panathenaic Way".

261 For a description of the building's architecture—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 111.

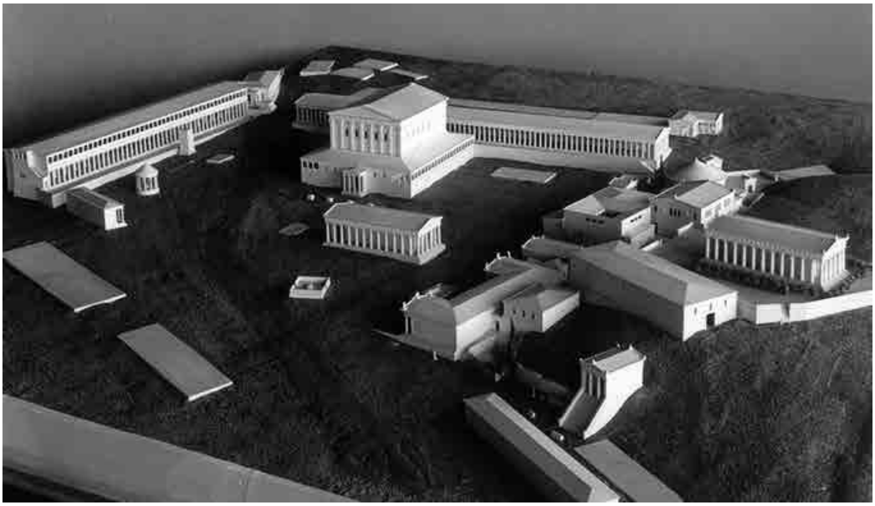

FIGURE 35 *Reconstruction model of the Athenian agora c. 200 AD showing the Odeion of Agrippa prominently in the centre.*
IMAGE COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, AGORA EXCAVATIONS

in the northern porch.[262] The quality of workmanship on the building has been judged to have been very high.[263]

The Odeion was a colossal building, by far the largest structure that was ever built on the Athenian agora. It is hard to overestimate its visual impact. The extent to which it dominated the square is obvious from looking at the reconstruction model built under the direction of John Travlos.[264] It certainly took up a large amount of space on the ground—around 2,200 m^2. However, as I shall argue later there was still around ten times this amount of open space left on the agora after its construction.[265] The building's imposing presence had as much to do with its great height as with the surface area that it covered, as is clear from the model. As Homer Thompson pointed out, the top of the building was at around the same height as the Temple of Hephaistos overlooking

262 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 113. On the herms see Harrison 1965, 139 ff.

263 So high in fact that it has been speculated that the building would have been beyond the financial means of the city at that time—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 111 ff.

264 The model is currently in the upper gallery of the Stoa of Attalos and thus not on view to the public. More photographs can be found in Thompson and Wycherley 1972 plates 11–14, and also on the official website of the excavation: http://www.agathe.gr/id/agora/image/1997.02.0156 (last consulted 10th June 2015).

265 See 3.12.

the square from the *kolonos agoraios* opposite.[266] In terms of its architecture the building was also unlike anything that had been previously seen in Athens. Edmund Thomas has argued that in terms of its extensive use of the Corinthian order as well as its domineering position on the agora the Odeion was a decidedly Roman looking building, an example of how Roman architecture was used to reshape local identity.[267] Considering that the parallels he points to in the Roman west were either fairly new buildings (the covered theatre at Pompeii) or roughly contemporary with the Odeion (the Diribitorium and the Temple of Mars Ultor at Rome), as opposed to long established Roman architectural forms, it is worth reflecting that the building may have struck the Athenians as an example of state-of-the-art modern architecture as opposed to something particularly Roman.

The building was obviously some kind of theatre but for what it was used for we have only Pausanias' reference that it was an Odeion, suggestive of musical performances and Philostratus' description of public readings taking place there. The building underwent an extensive rebuilding around the time that Pausanias must have seen it, which reduced its capacity by approximately half.[268] John Camp has argued that Pausanias and Philostratus use different names for the building because the rebuilding was accompanied by a change in function. It was around this time that Herodes Atticus erected his impressive odeion on the south slope of the Akropolis, and Camp argues that Herodes' building took over the function of the agora Odeion so that that building could now become a lecture hall.[269] Again we are faced with the modern desire to assign ancient buildings—particularly theatre-like buildings—to neat categories.[270] In truth the grounds for supposing a change in function are rather weak.

The fact that different ancient authors use different names for the building does not necessarily mean that its name had actually changed. It might always have had more than one name. It seems unlikely that it only became known as the Agrippeion in Philostratus' day, over two centuries after Agrippa had presumably paid for its construction; furthermore, the fact that this is what Philostratus calls it does not mean that it was no longer thought of as an odeion. Even though we know that it served as a lecture hall in Herodes Atticus' day we cannot rule out the possibility that it might still sometimes have been the

266 Thompson 1954a, 14.

267 Thomas 2013, 169–171.

268 Discussed here at 4.6.

269 Camp 2001, 218–219; Camp 1986, 194–196.

270 A problem discussed here at 1.10.

venue for other types of performance as well. Similarly, it might always have accommodated lectures, even though Pausanias calls it an odeion and even though it originally had a much larger auditorium than it did in the late second century. Finally, there is no reason to assume that Athens, or any city, would only have required a set number of odeia. When the Odeion was constructed in the agora the city already had the Odeion of Perikles, rebuilt following its destruction in the Mithridatic Wars, by King Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia.[271] It is therefore just as likely that Herodes Atticus' odeion was intended to add a third such building to the city's amenities, as that it was intended to replace the Odeion on the agora. Tony Spawforth has recently made a convincing case that public declamations were already popular in Greek and Roman culture in the period of Augustus and that there is, therefore, good reason to think that the Odeion of Agrippa had been intended as a venue for such performances from the beginning.[272] Working on the assumption that the Persian Wars would have been a fertile source of themes for declamations in this period Spawforth argues that the building was in tune with a much wider reinvention of Greek identity at this time that emphasised this period in the country's history in an appeal to the taste of Augustus and the new imperial regime.

The Odeion clearly marked a dramatic transformation of the Athenian agora which makes it unsurprising that it has attracted such considerable attention from modern scholars. Although it clearly must be read in the light of the Roman takeover of Athens and the transformation of Rome itself from a Republic into an Empire, no consensus has been reached as to its precise meaning. Some, such as Shear and Galinksy, see it as a fairly straightforward symbol of Roman dominance of the city imposed by the imperial power; others, such as Alcock and Spawforth, while disagreeing as to the degree of local versus imperial agency involved have seen it as part of a reinvention of Greek identity in response to the realities of Empire. Most recently Vasilis Evangelidis has considered the various ways the building has been interpreted and suggested that there is no evidence to allow us to decide between them.[273] I believe that this is unduly pessimistic but also overstates the need to choose. Meanings of buildings are rarely mutually exclusive and there is probably some degree of truth

271 On the rebuilding of the Classical odeion see Camp 2001, 185; Vitruvius 5.9.1, IG II^2 3426.

272 Spawforth 2012, 59–86 and esp. p. 63.

273 Evangelidis 2014, 338. The key question that Evangelidis addresses here is whether 'the imperial patron of the building deliberately followed a "Roman spatial scheme"'; he concludes that it did not. It should be clear from the discussion here that I take issue with the assumption that oppositions between Greek and Roman ways of planning public squares are a useful way of thinking about the transformation of the agora.

in all of the suggestions that have been proposed. The fact that Agrippa's name was associated with the building means that even though it did not bring an end to the use of the agora as a public space it was still an important reminder of Roman power; its use as a lecture hall advertised Athens' status as a cultural centre and augmented the cultural facilities of the city; and the building managed to be at once an example of state-of-the art modern architecture, announcing the birth of a hoped for period of peace and prosperity, while at the same time, together with the transplanted temples serving to recall the glories of Classical Athens.

3.8 Odeia and Theatre-Like Buildings: (ii) Other Greek Cities

The early Imperial transformation of the Athenian agora has often been seen as paradigmatic of fairly widespread trends in agora development. For example, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* entry for "*agora*":

> it was only with the restricted political life of Greek cities in the Roman period that [an agora] might include large buildings *such as* the odeum of Agrippa at Athens.[274] (my emphasis)

Note how this supposed loss of space is linked directly with a decline in political life. Similarly in the *New Pauly* entry on "agora" Frank Kolb writes that "under Roman influence, the erection of monumental buildings on the agora's open area could occur at times."[275] He refers to the Odeion at Athens and—his only other example—to the Sanctuary of Dea Roma and Divus Iulius on the "State Agora" at Ephesos. As mentioned in the Introduction there has been some disagreement as to whether that last space should be thought of as an agora at all. Whether the Odeion at Athens really does typify a more general trend is another assumption that deserves scrutiny.

The only potential parallel that I know for such a large building being erected in the open space of the agora in the early Imperial period is at Thelpousa in Arcadia. There, Madeline Jost, based on a survey of visible surface remains, dated a large building within the agora as belonging to the Roman period.[276]

274 Richard Allan Tomlinson "Agora" *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Ed. Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996.

275 Kolb, Frank "Agora". *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*. Ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Leiden, Brill, 2005.

276 Jost 1986, 638. It is noteworthy that Pausanias stresses that this was a city in decline by his

Elsewhere I have found no other old Greek agora that underwent anything like the new level of building work seen at Athens, and certainly no agora where a building as large and imposing as the Odeion of Agrippa was erected. We can therefore reject the idea that the infilling of agoras was a widespread phenomenon in the Roman period. What was widespread however—and herein lies the value of putting Athens in the context of what was happening at agoras elsewhere—was that it became even more common than in the Hellenistic period for odeia or other theatral buildings to be located in close proximity to the agora.

We have already seen several agoras in the Hellenistic period that had theatre-like buildings near them such as Kassope, Byllis and Mantineia.[277] On the other hand there were also cities such as Athens, Eretria and Thasos where the theatre or odeion was slightly further from the agora. In the early Imperial period new odeia were constructed at many cities in Greece in the vicinity of the agora or even bordering it. The building that F.E. Winter has identified as a bouleuterion or odeion on the northwest of the agora of Mantineia, near the theatre, was rebuilt in the first century AD, as was the theatre.[278] At Nikopolis an odeion was erected in the Augustan period just to the north of the area thought to have been the forum.[279] At the end of the first century AD a new odeion was constructed at Corinth between the forum and the theatre and at Argos, slightly later an odeion was constructed not far from the agora above the remains of the old Classical meeting place conventionally known as the "*théâtre à gradins droits*".[280] At the full extent of its development the arrangement of the new agora at Thessalonikē was very similar to Hellenistic Mantineia or Kassope with an odeion at one end of the square.[281] In the next chapter we shall see that this trend continued into the second century AD.

day, making explicit reference to the fact that the settlement no longer extended much beyond the agora—Pausanias 8.25.1.

277 See here 1.9.

278 Winter 1987, 242 on the council house, 239 on the theatre; on the Roman renovation of the theatre see also—Martin 1951, 252. Martin argues that there is no evidence that the theatre had a stage building before this time, which suggests it was originally only used for political meetings and only now was used for entertainment. I am not convinced that we can exclude the possibility that plays had always been staged there.

279 Chrysostomou and Keffalonitou 2005. Though note the problems with the evidence for the forum referred to earlier. See here 3.2 and especially n. 43.

280 For the Corinthian odeion see Broneer 1932.

281 Although the "odeion" has been dated to the second century AD, it was preceded on the same spot by a square, roofed building with curved benches that could have held 200 people and which has been interpreted as a council house—Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 18. There is no good reason to assume different functions for these two buildings.

The difference between Athens and the other cities just mentioned is that the Odeion of Agrippa was actually constructed within the agora instead of on its edge or nearby. Why that decision was made is difficult to say but there is no reason to assume *a priori* that it was a symptom of civic decline. The Odeion might have been erected where it was because it could be—i.e. because the space it occupied had not actually been used previously for some loftier purpose—rather than because one or more of the functions of the agora were driven out by the building. As already mentioned, previous scholarship has tended to emphasise the amount of open space that was lost to the new building. The effect that this must have had on the use of the agora has been grossly exaggerated by scholars expecting to find evidence of civic decline under Roman rule, as I shall argue below when we consider its impact on the use of the bema (3.12). It is also possible to posit a symbolic reason for its location. We know from literary sources that an area in the centre of the agora had long been known as the "orchestra", presumably in memory of bygone days when there had been a theatre in the agora.[282] This new odeion, located in the centre of the agora and complete with its very own orchestra, must have stood near, if not in, this very area.[283]

The important thing, however, is that the Odeion of Agrippa must be understood in the context of a proliferation of theatre-like buildings on and near agoras throughout Greece. We have seen in Chapter One that there was often a close association between the agora and theatre in Classical and Hellenistic times. In the Archaic period this was probably also the situation at Athens but after that time the city's only theatre and odeion were located at quite some distance from the agora on the south slope of the Akropolis. In the early Imperial period, an odeion in the civic centre seems to have become an amenity that no self-respecting Greek polis could be without. Athens was one of the main cultural and educational centres in the Mediterranean and certainly the most important in Achaia; it could hardly afford to be left behind in this respect. It is therefore not surprising that an odeion was constructed there at this time.

Another city at which great attention appears to have been paid to enhancing the cultural amenities of the agora in early Imperial times is Argos. The Argive agora is potentially instructive as to the type of public space that the concept "agora" could encompass at this point in time. However, the site is in many ways problematic and also illustrates some of the key methodological problems

282 Timaios Sophistes, *Lexicon Platonicum*, Photios, Plato *Apology*, 26 d, e. = Wycherley 1957, *276*, *526*, *527* and p. 162 ff. for a collection of other testimonia that might cast light on the problem of the orchestra.

283 As suggested by Thompson 1950b, 36–37. Cf Martin 1951, 323.

archaeologists face in trying to identify different types of public spaces on the ground as well as some key limitations of our knowledge of ancient agoras. A question mark even hangs over the question whether the agora at Argos—or at least the entire agora—has even been discovered. It is therefore useful to consider the site in some detail at this point.

3.9 Argos—Agora or Sporting Centre?

We have seen that from early Hellenistic times it became more common for cities to have gymnasia located within their civic centre, often located quite near to the agora. In the early Imperial period the agora of Argos underwent a rather unusual transformation that linked it even more closely with athletic competition (see Figure 36). The starting line of a racetrack has been found there which has been dated to the first century AD.[284] The racetrack runs obliquely through the agora stopping at an undetermined point to the southeast. The track is assumed to have followed the line of a much older track because its orientation respects that of a triangular basin of the late Classical period.[285] However it is worth stressing that the starting blocks are the first solid evidence for a track. Around the same time that the new track was laid out, the Classical Pi-shaped Stoa was also modified.[286] The angle of the east wing was rectified and it is thought that there were probably some changes to the west wing although this part of the building lies outside the area that has been excavated. The rear of the building was substantially rearranged, so that the triple aisled hall was converted into a peristyle court.[287] The transformed building has been identified as one of the three gymnasia of the city, which are known from an Augustan inscription found within the building.[288] This emphasis on sporting facilities does not conform to the pattern seen for other agora sites in this period. The central area of Corinth also had a track but it was buried beneath the paving of the Roman forum.[289]

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284 Piérart and Thalman 1978, 778–779; Piérart 1981, 904; Pariente, Piérart et al. 1986; Piérart, Thalmann et al. 1987, 585–588. Piérart 2010.

285 Piérart and Touchais 1996, 50–51 and 77 suggest a fourth century date for the original track. Marchetti and Rizakis 1995, 454–458 argue for a fifth century date.

286 Piérart and Touchais 1996, 76; Pariente, Pariente, Piérart et al. 1998, 218. On the Pi-shaped Stoa see 1.4.

287 Ibid.

288 Piérart and Touchais 1996, 77; Pariente, Piérart et al. 1998, 218. Piérart 2010, 23. For the inscription see Charneux 1953, 400 ***no. 5*** = SEG XIII, 244.

289 See here I.1.

The agora of Argos, however, is a problematic site that for earlier periods also does not conform to the picture of agora development seen elsewhere. The excavations of the site have revealed only a small number of the types of public buildings usually found on agoras, such as political offices and shops. The hypostyle hall may have been the city's bouleuterion, as we have seen, although that identification is far from certain.[290] Even if this was the city's council house it is still the only potentially administrative building thus far known at the site. The elongated Building K, which frames the north side of the area, was renovated in the Imperial period and evidence for metallurgy found in the ruins suggests that it was thereafter used as a centre for industrial production and perhaps trade.[291] Perhaps it had always been a commercial establishment. It is possible that the Pi-shaped Stoa too had originally served a commercial function. However these two buildings could hardly represent the totality of commercial facilities that we would expect for the agora of a fairly large and important polis like Argos. These incongruities make it worth thinking carefully about what kind of space this was.

It is possible that the prominence of athletics in this area can be explained by the close association that the agora of Argos is known to have had with the Temple of Apollo Lykeios, a well-known protector of gymnasia.[292] Another possibility is that the racetrack and gymnasium had something to do with Argos' control of the Nemean games. Since early Hellenistic times, the games had actually been held in the city itself, except for a brief return to Nemea under Aratos in the 3rd century BC.[293] Although it is unlikely that the athletic competitions took place in the agora this may explain the need for more sporting facilities in the city than in other poleis.[294] Perhaps some of the preliminary training for the events took place in the agora. A potential parallel would be the agora of Elis, which Pausanias tells us was used for training horses in his day.[295] Another possibility however, and one that has to be seriously considered, is that the excavated area does not actually correspond to the agora of Argos at all, or at least not to the whole of the agora.

290 See here 1.6.

291 Pariente 1989, 710; Pariente 1990, 856. Piérart 2010, 23.

292 To give but the most salient example, Aristotle's famous Lyceum (Lykeion) was originally a sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios.

293 Possibly for a while in the Classical period as well. On the question of the location of the games see Perlman 2000, 133 ff., with references.

294 Tomlinson reported, now some four decades ago, that the location of the stadium had been tentatively identified on a ridge of the Deiras hill—Tomlinson 1972, 24.

295 Pausanias—6.24.2.

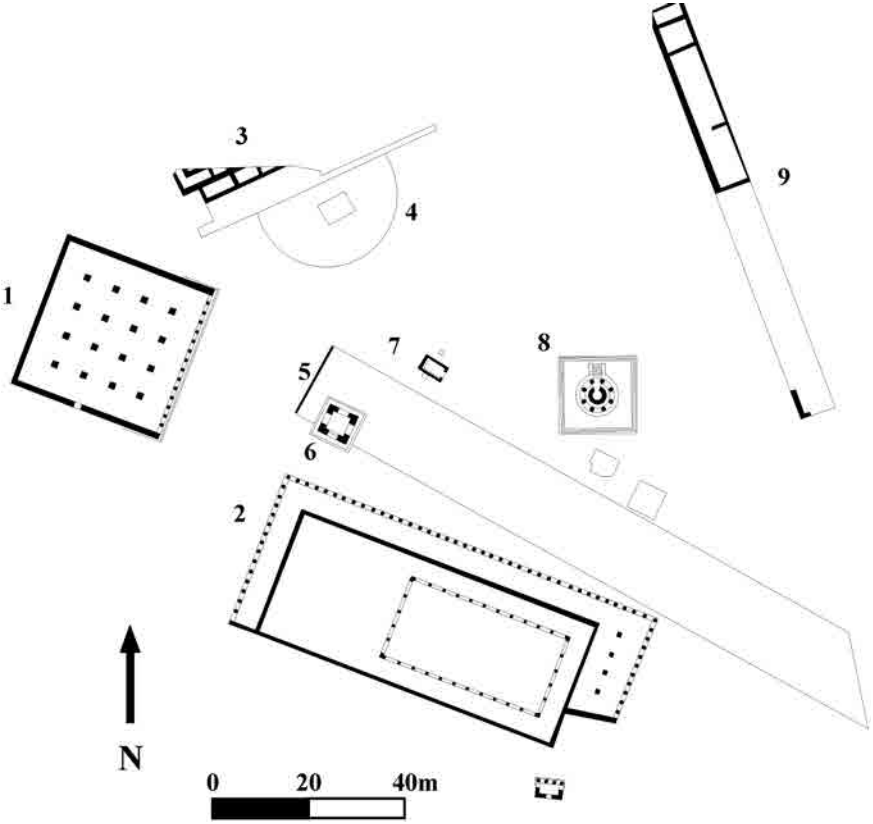

FIGURE 36 *The "agora" of Argos (1. Hypostyle Hall, 2. Pi-shaped Stoa and gymnasium, 3. Building K, 4. Circular enclosure with altar, 5. Starting line of racetrack, 6. Monument M, 7. Monument D, 8. Nymphaeum, 9. Building G)*

There are a number of reasons for thinking that the agora of Argos must have extended much further westwards in the direction of the theatre than the area that has been excavated. By no means the least of these reasons is that at Argos there is an even larger discrepancy than usual between Pausanias' description of the area and the excavated structures that it has been possible to link to that description.[296] In 1995 Patrick Marchetti and Yvonne Rizakis did make the

296 Pausanias (2.21.1–9) reports seeing the following monuments on, or very near the Argive agora, none of which have been securely identified on the excavation: sanctuaries of Artemis of Persuasion, Athena Trumpet and Leto, a monument to mark the spot where Pyrrhos died, a mound where the Gorgon's head was buried, a trophy to mark a victory over the Archaic tyrant Laphaes and the tombs of Kerdo, wife of Phoroneus of Hypermnestra, Lynceus, Talaus son of Bias, Epimenides.

case that the agora had actually extended as far west of the excavated area as the *théâtre à gradins droits*; their argument, however was problematic, relying rather too heavily on chance epigraphic finds and comparisons with sites such as Sparta and Mantineia that are themselves poorly understood.[297] A year later Marchetti made a more succinct case for the same interpretation. Through analysis of the alignments of various buildings in and around the supposed agora he argued that they were all laid out in relation to three cardinal points, which are all located outside the excavated area, which consequently suggests that the extent of the agora had originally been much greater.[298]

If the agora was much larger than the triangular area delimited by buildings and exposed by the excavation the important question arises: what exactly was this triangular area? Marchetti and Rizakis suggested that it was, in fact, the temenos of Nemean Zeus, described by Pausanias.[299] Presumably they imagine that this would have been where the games actually took place. Their

297 Marchetti and Rizakis 1995, 444–445. They first of all present epigraphic testimony for a cult of Zeus Euboleus near the theatre as supporting proof that this area must have been part of the agora because that god was attested epigraphically in the "bouleuterion" of the agora in Mantineia (they refer here to Jost 1985, 275–276. On whether that building was actually the *bouleuterion* see here 1.6) The weakness of this argument can be seen by thinking about what we know of the cult of Zeus Agoraios elsewhere. Though associated with agoras in many cities Zeus Agoraios could be located elsewhere, as at Athens where he was worshipped on the Pnyx. Zeus Euboleus at Argos could have been associated with the *théâtre à gradins droits* and have nothing to do with the agora. Building on this fragile premise Marchetti and Rizakis go on to draw some rather shaky conclusions based on possible analogy with what is known of the situation at Sparta. They argue that because there was a Zeus Amboulios at Sparta who was worshipped alongside an Athena Amboulia, the statue of Athena found 150 m (!) to the east of the theatre at Argos (Raftopoulou 1966) must be a representation of this aspect of the goddess. This is pure conjecture—the find-spot can hardly be thought of as being close to the area where Zeus Euboleus was worshipped, there is no reason to equate Euboleus and Amboulios; furthermore, just because two gods were paired in one city does not mean they must have been in another; in short, the Athena at Argos might represent any one of the goddess's aspects. Moreover, even if they are right in their identification, it says nothing about the location or extent of the agora. They also argue that the concentration of proxeny decrees spread across this entire area is suggestive. This is more convincing. It is, however, known at Argos that proxeny decrees were typically displayed in the Temple of Apollo Lykeios, which was somewhere in the vicinity of the agora. The decrees might all have originated in the temple and their distribution might merely be the product of post-antique movement of the stones.

298 Marchetti 1996.

299 Marchetti and Rizakis 1995, 444–445.

argument again follows a rather convoluted route and the suggestion was ignored completely by an overview of research on the site that was published a few years later.[300] For all its problems, however, the suggestion does have some merits. That temenos has not been found and the evidence for athletics in the excavated area certainly does seems to fit. Another possibility would be that the area currently thought of as the agora was in fact a kind of gymnasium. At Elis, Pausanias mentions three gymnasia, which he seems to place somewhere near the agora: the one he describes as the oldest was an open space with trees, running tracks and altars to gods and heroes; next to this were two enclosed gymnasia.[301] The description of the first gymnasium surely sounds rather like the excavated area at Argos—an open space with a running track and an enclosed gymnasium alongside it. Might not the open space itself, rather than the building to the rear of the Pi-shaped Stoa have been one of the city's gymnasia? That building could then be thought of as a palaestra belonging to the gymnasium.

The issue of what exactly the excavated area at Argos is can only be resolved by extending the excavations into the surrounding area. It is, however, a real possibility that the area is either not the agora of the city at all or—probably more likely—is only a part of the agora. If the Classical agora was originally much larger and did extend as far as the *theatre a gradin droits* then the transformation of this area into an athletic and religious complex in Roman times suggests a similar specialisation and compartmentalisation of public space in the city to that which we have already seen elsewhere.

3.10 Temples and Religious Buildings

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, following a hiatus in the troubled years of the first century BC a widespread upturn in building activity took place in the first century AD in Greece and indeed throughout the Roman Empire. Scholars have noted that particular attention was focused on religious buildings.[302] That this was the direct result of Roman rule, or at least a conse-

300 Marchetti and Rizakis 1995, ibid. Their overly complicated arguments revolve around Pausanias' two references to the location of the statue of Kreugas the boxer—first when he saw the statue at Argos and then again as a passing reference in his description of Phigalia. The suggestion is not even referred to by Pariente, Piérart et al. 1998.

301 An old gymnasium called "*xystos*" (Pausanias 6.23.1–3), two enclosed gymnasia (6.23.4 and 6.23.5).

302 E.g. Lane Fox 1986, 74–75.

quence of the transition from Republic to Empire, is suggested by the fact that in this area the city of Rome does seem to have led the way. Religious renewal played a big role in Augustus' reforms at Rome;[303] the Princeps' *pietas* manifested itself in the urban landscape in the restoration of old temples and the creation of new ones.[304] Most interesting here is his creation of the Forum of Augustus, dominated by the Temple of Mars Ultor, which, together with its predecessor, the Forum of Julius Caesar, arguably reinvented the very concept of what a forum could be.[305] The new Roman colonies in Greece also reserved a far larger proportion of their space for religion than had previously been seen on Greek agoras.

I have already mentioned that by far the largest temple at Roman Corinth was the so-called Temple E; it was situated within an enormous temenos, on a higher elevation to the rear of the podium temples at the west of the forum. The excavations have shown that there were two phases to the construction. The original temple was of the Doric order and stood against the rear wall of its precinct.[306] Williams has argued that this first temple was not constructed until the time of Augustus at the earliest, and possibly as late as the reign of Caligula. It was replaced by a much larger Corinthian temple towards the end of the first century AD, or possibly later, and at the same time the precinct was substantially enlarged.[307] This second temple must have been a benefaction because the fragmentary dedicatory inscription from the epistyle survives.[308]

The identity of this enormous and extremely prominent temple is one of the thorniest and most controversial problems of Corinthian topography. There are two main conflicting points of view that centre on Pausanias' description of the forum area. Pausanias mentions a temple of Octavia, which he locates above the agora ("ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν") and the reference has often been connected

303 Or at least in his own propaganda. Historians have disagreed as to how seriously it should be taken—see Galinsky 1996, 288–331 for a comprehensive discussion.

304 He proudly boasts in his *Res Gestae* (20.4) that he restored or rebuilt 82 temples. Zanker 1988, 102 ff.

305 I discuss the Forum of Augustus more fully at 3.13.

306 On this early temple see Williams 1989, 159–160. On a surviving member of its epistyle see Freeman in Stillwell, Scranton et al. 1941, 20.

307 This temple was dated to the period of Domitian on the basis of discovery of a coin—Freeman in Stillwell, Scranton et al. 1941, 183. Williams has highlighted various problems with this date and suggested it might be later, perhaps Hadrianic—Williams and Zervos 1990, 335–336. On the precinct see Williams and Zervos ibid., 325–334 and Williams and Zervos 1991.

308 Kent 1966, ***333***. Of the inscription all that remains is "eT LIBERI EIUS SP".

with Temple E.[309] The problem here, however, is that most scholars find it implausible that Octavia could have had her own temple at Corinth, especially such a large and imposing one. Two approaches have been taken to resolving this problem—either there must be some ambiguity in Pausanias' words, which mean that his Temple of Octavia was not Temple E at all, or he must have been somehow mistaken in thinking Octavia was worshipped in Temple E. In either case a different identification is needed for Temple E. Mary Walbank has argued that the temple must be the city's Capitolium.[310] Charles Williams is unconvinced, partly because he believes the city would have needed a Capitolium from the time of its foundation, long before this building was erected. He therefore argues that it was a temple to the imperial cult and believes that the Capitolium must be looked for elsewhere.[311] Both Walbank and Williams published their fullest argument on the subject in the same year two and a half decades ago, yet, the debate remains unresolved. The fact that the largest, grandest temple at Corinth remains unidentified is a sobering reminder of the limits of our topographical knowledge for even one of the best-excavated sites. It also underscores the extent to which Pausanias is relied on for identifying ancient buildings. In this connection it is worth noting that the second largest Roman temple in the forum area, Temple C, has received nothing like this level of attention, largely because it cannot be securely connected with any reference in Pausanias. Temple C, probably dates to the mid first century AD and is as yet unidentified.[312]

309 Pausanias 2.3.1. See Walbank 1989, 1 n. 2 for references to previous attempts to identify the temple.

310 Most extensively in Walbank 1989. She accepts that it was also probably the temple Pausanias referred to as the Temple of Octavia and devises numerous ingenious solutions to the problem of how Octavia might still have been associated with the temple. She also has to deal with another reference in Pausanias to a temple of Zeus Capitolius (*kapetolios* in Pausanias' Greek), which is clearly located, from his description, much nearer to the theatre—Pausanias 2.4.5. She discusses other evidence for that cult and concludes that this was actually a revived Greek cult of Zeus. More recently (2010, 362–363) Walbank has restated her argument but now suggests that Pausanias' Temple of Zeus Capitolius was Temple E. See also Crawley Quinn and Wilson 2013, 149 and n. 182, who dismiss the possibility of either this temple or Temple E being a Capitolium.

311 Williams 1987; Williams 1989.

312 The temple is discussed by Scranton in Chapter 5 of Stillwell, Scranton et al. 1941. Scranton suggested it was dedicated to Hera Akraia and developed an elaborate theory to connect it with the nearby fountain of Glauke, the Medea legend and the statues of Medea's children and of the personified Terror that Pausanias saw somewhere in the vicinity—Pausanias 2.3.6–7. This idea has been criticised by Williams and Zervos 1984, 104.

At other Roman colonies in Greece we see separate temple terraces in the vicinity of the main forum. At Dion there was some kind of temple immediately to the west of the main square and axially aligned with it, which has been suggested as a "Sebasteion", a temple honouring the imperial cult.[313] At Philippi, the most important temples were concentrated on a separate terrace, above the main forum to the north. We do not know much about the earliest phases of these temples because a Christian basilica was later built on this upper terrace, obliterating much of the evidence for earlier structures; it is supposed, however, that there were three main temples on the terrace, dedicated to the Capitoline triad—Jupiter, Juno and Minerva.[314] At Thessalonikē, whose forum so closely resembles that of Philippi, buildings on a terrace to the north of the main agora have tentatively been suggested as temples to the imperial cult.[315] The so-called "tripartite building" on the north of the forum of Butrint has, because of its threefold division, also been interpreted as a Capitolium.[316] Woolf and Rizakis have both suggested that the Temple of Zeus on the agora of Patras, described by Pausanias as containing statues of Athena and (possibly) Hera as well as Zeus, was the Capitolium of the colony; it is an attractive idea although it does seem to stretch the meaning of Pausanias' Greek somewhat to interpret his words as meaning that he saw all three statues in the same building.[317] Because the city's agora/forum has not been found it is, however, impossible to say if the arrangement or amount of religious space there was similar to that at Corinth and Philippi. In light of this speculation about Capitolia at Roman foundations in Greece it is worth noting that Josephine Crawley Quinn and Andrew Wilson have recently demonstrated convincingly that the widespread belief that Capitolia were standard features of Roman colonies is unfounded.[318]

313 Evangelidis 2014, 351; citing Pandermalis 2003.

314 See Sève and Weber 2012a, 33–38 and Sève 1996b, 126 which includes a photograph of a useful reconstruction model of the forum in the second century AD. On "Basilica A" see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2003, 29–32. The construction of this later building makes it difficult to be sure about the nature of the buildings that preceded it. A full discussion of these remains and associated problems can be found in Sève and Weber 1986.

315 Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2009, 620–623; Evangelidis 2014, 340.

316 Hernandez and Çondi 2008.

317 For Woolf's suggestion see http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/~gdw2/RGL04.pdf (last consulted 11th June 2015). Rizakis 2010a, 133. The problem with this interpretation is that Pausanias (7.20.3) seems to be talking about a separate precinct of Hera near the Temple of Zeus, which he mentions in the same breath as a sanctuary of Apollo: "τῆς τε Ἥρας ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου πέραν ἱερόν τε Ἀπόλλωνος πεποίηται καὶ Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς".

318 Crawley Quinn and Wilson 2013.

This does not, of course mean that the nature of the cults found at new Roman cities were not different from those found at older Greek ones—at Corinth, as we have seen, Williams has made a strong case for the Romanness of the podium temples on the west of the square—or that there were no differences in the way that space was configured to accommodate religion. This last issue deserves closer scrutiny.

Vasilis Evangelidis has suggested recently that it is in the setting aside of separate terraces for temples that we see one of the most distinct differences between Roman and Greece conceptions of public space; even if the widespread existence of Capitolia has now been called into question, separate areas for temples were certainly often found in the vicinity of forums of Roman cities in the western half of the Empire and at colonies in the east, as we have seen.[319] J.J. Coulton has argued that a feature that set Greek agoras apart from Roman forums is that temples were also rarely allowed to dominate the space of the former.[320] These are useful observations but it is important to stress that the dichotomy was by no means absolute. Firstly, although temples might rarely have been axially aligned with agoras in the way that was common in Roman cities, they certainly could dominate the squares of Greek cities as is well demonstrated by the prominent position of the Hephaisteion at Athens. Secondly, an arrangement that comes close to what is often thought of as typically Roman has been seen at early Hellenistic Pella, where there were no temples on the main agora but a sanctuary to Aphrodite and the Mother of the Gods just to the north of the square.[321] Conversely, even at Corinth and Philippi, which did have imposing temple terraces, religion was not restricted to these areas. We have already discussed the collection of podium temples at the western end of the forum at Corinth that stood far closer to the other—commercial and political—buildings there.[322] A building at the western end of the Central Shops has also been interpreted as a temple to Dionysos.[323] At Philippi, in the second century AD there was also definitely one temple (possibly two) on the lower terrace so quite possibly there was some cult

319 Evangelidis 2014, 351 and 340: “The clear division between the public square and area sacra that is often apparent in the plan of the fora of the Roman cities in Italy or the provinces, such as Philippi, is a feature that in many ways reflects the Roman spatial logic of a hierarchically structured space.” He cites Todd 1985 on the common arrangement in the western half of the Empire.

320 Coulton 1976, 172.

321 See here 1.2.

322 See here 3.4.

323 Scranton 1951, 126.

activity here in earlier times too.[324] Clearly some separation of religion and an emphasis on particularly prominent temples was more common at Roman cities than at older Greek ones but the dividing lines between the conceptions of space in the two cultures were anything but absolute.

In view of the high proportion of space given over to religion on the forums of these colonies a question that is important to ask now is whether, at this time, there was also an increase in the number of religious buildings seen on old Greek agoras. If we again look first at Athens, the answer is certainly yes. The ground plans of three temples have been found there which were set up in the Roman period (see Figure 37). One has been identified on the basis of Pausanias' description as the Temple of Ares; the other two remain unidentified and have therefore been labelled simply the Southwest and Southeast temples.[325] The aspect of these temples that has received the most attention is that they were all three, in part or completely, reassembled from older Classical temples that had stood elsewhere in Athens or Attica. The Temple of Ares seems to have once been a Temple to Athena, from the deme of Pallene, dismantled and re-erected block by block in the agora.[326] A gutter of the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion was also reused on the Temple of Ares and eight columns from the Temple of Athena, also at Sounion, were incorporated in the Southeast Temple. Other columns from the Stoa at Thorikos, which had been unfluted, were fluted now and reused in the Southwest Temple. Some other Ionic columns of Classical date have also been found in the agora and might possibly have to do with these itinerant temples although it is not possible to say where they originally stood.[327] A fourth century BC altar (dated by architectural style) was also moved to the agora at around the same time; it was probably the Altar of Zeus Agoraios that had originally stood in the Pnyx. I will come back to the significance of this last monument later in this chapter.[328]

324 See here 4.2.

325 For all three temples see Camp 1986, 184–186. On the Temple of Ares see Dinsmoor 1940; McAllister 1959; Shear 1938, 320 ff. On the Southwest Temple see Thompson 1952b, 90 ff. On the Southeast Temple see Thompson 1960, 339 ff.; See Harrison 1960, 371–373 for discussion of a torso found with the building that might come from its cult statue.

326 It was originally thought that the temple might have come from Acharnai where there was a known cult of Ares but this now appears not to have been the case—Camp 2001, 191; Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2008, 24 and n. 163 for references to the excavations at Pallene.

327 Camp 1986, 186. On reconstructing the two buildings and correctly assigning fragments found on the excavation to them see Dinsmoor 1982.

328 See here 3.15.

At the same time that these older religious monuments were relocated in the Athenian agora other transformations in the religious space of the square were also carried out. A central portion of the back wall of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios was knocked through and an annex consisting of two, temple-like, chambers was hewn out of the rock of the hill to its rear.[329] A new, much larger, altar was also constructed in front of the building over the remains of the existing one.[330] At the same time a new prostyle temple was also constructed to the north of the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania.[331] This is one of few prostyle temples to have been constructed in Greece outside of the Roman colonies.[332] Sometime in the early Imperial period the old Hephaisteion was also given a more monumental approach—the slope, which led up to it, was replaced with a grand staircase.[333] There has been little discussion of the dating of this development but Homer Thompson suggested it was probably early Roman and it would indeed seem to make sense to associate it with the other developments seen here.[334] Geoffrey Schmalz has compared it with a similar project dated to the Claudian period whereby a new monumental approach was created to the Akropolis.[335] With the new staircase, the temple's position in relation to the agora thus approximated that of the enigmatic Temple E at Corinth although there is no reason to think that the cult of Hephaistos became more important.

The "itinerant temples", in particular, have been discussed by modern scholars. The focus has tended to be on three main issues. Firstly a lot of attention has been paid to tracing where these temples came from.[336] Secondly their impact on the agora has been considered. As with the Odeion of Agrippa, scholars have tended to emphasise the amount of open space that was lost to these new buildings. They have thus been discussed as one more indication that the

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329 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 102–103; Thompson 1966b; Burden 1999, 142–147; The discovery is reported by Shear 1933, 452.

330 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 102; Thompson 1937, 10–12; Thompson 1966b, 177. Cf Burden 1999, 149. Burden disputes both the dating and the necessity of seeing a connection between the altar enlargement and the annex.

331 Shear 1997 Shear Jr. 1997, 498–507; Shear Jr. 1984, 33–35; Camp 1986, 186; Burden 1999, 163–168.

332 Not the only one. A prostyle temple was, for example, built in the new Roman forecourt at Eleusis—Mylonas 1961, 167–168.

333 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 149; Thompson 1937, 221.

334 Thompson 1937, 221–222.

335 Schmalz 2000, 140–141.

336 See Dinsmoor 1982.

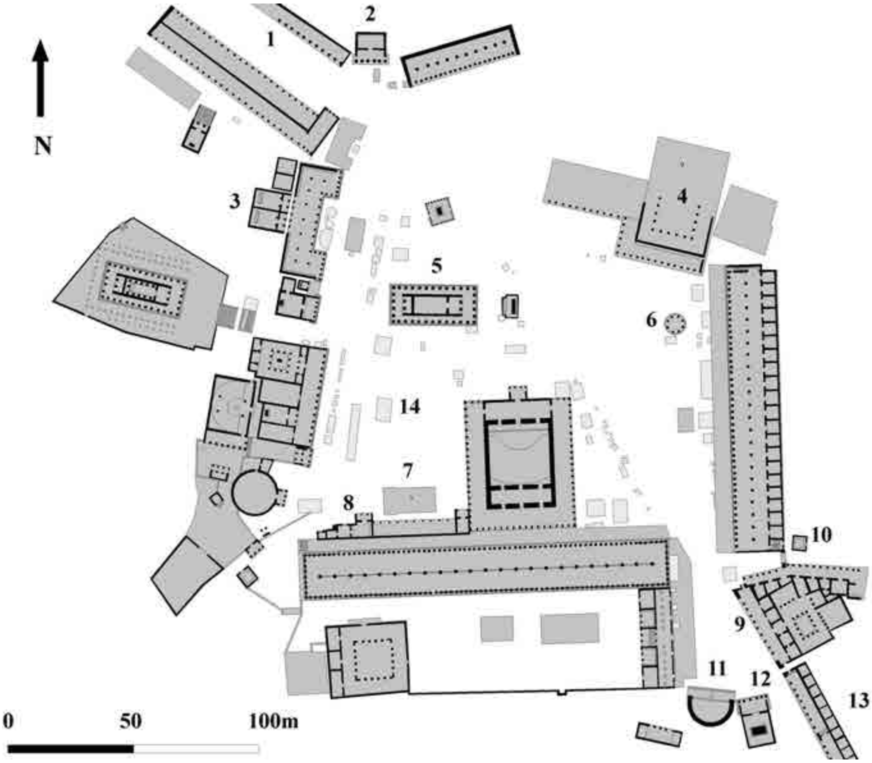

FIGURE 37 *The Athenian agora in the late Roman period (c. 200 AD). Important new Roman period buildings shown (1. Stoa, 2. Temple of Aphrodite Ourania, 3. Annex of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, 4. Basilica, 5. Temple of Ares, 6. Monopteros, 7. Southwest Temple, 8. Civic offices, 9. Library of Pantainos, 10. Latrine, 11. Nymphaeum, 12. Southeast Temple, 13. Southeast stoa).*

old agora had lost something of its importance in the life of the city. I am not convinced by this interpretation, as I shall argue below (3.12–3.15). There has also been considerable speculation over what it meant that these buildings were all older monuments taken from elsewhere. Some have argued that the transferral of temples out of the countryside into the city is suggestive of decline in the rest of Attica and a desire to promote the city as a religious and political centre.[337] Others have focused on the antiquity of the monuments and have

337 There has also been some suggestion that these buildings might be connected with the well-known and highly problematic inscription to do with the restoration of rural cults in Attica—IG II^2 1035. Dating that inscription has proved notoriously difficult and the link is thus uncertain. The text details how the Hoplite General, King Archon and other impor-

seen them as transforming the agora into something like a "museum".[338] Such deliberate antiquarianism might have had a political dimension inasmuch as it could be seen as an attempt to assert Athenian identity and appeal to Roman fascination with Greece's Classical heritage. Most recently Tony Spawforth has suggested that the Temple of Ares and the Odeion of Agrippa need to be interpreted in close connection, the first building's overt reference to war resonating with the declamations on topics to do with the glorious Persian Wars that he believes would have been performed in the Odeion.[339] He also argues that the self-conscious Classicism at the heart of the "museumifcation" of the square was driven by Augustus' programme of moral reform.[340]

I certainly find it convincing that in some way these buildings had to do with Athens trying to capitalise on her cultural heritage to negotiate a position within the Empire. The backward looking Classicism of the reused temples also certainly was in tune with Augustus' ideology. At the same time, however, the idea of the agora as a museum is problematic in that it reinforces the idea of a decline in the vitality of the square as a public space by implying that the passive viewing of monuments started to take precedence over active participation in daily life. The usefulness of the museum analogy has rightly been critiqued by Susan Alcock, although she accepts some of its key tenets such as that the infilling of the agora signalled the end of its use as a venue for meetings and that all trade must now have been relocated to the Roman Agora.[341] In many ways the supposed infilling of the agora and its transformation into a museum-like space are two sides of the same coin. I also find it problematic to see all these renovations as dictated by Augustus. To do so removes all agency from the Athenians themselves and sees the city reduced to a pliant and submissive subject on which the new emperor stamped his will. It also implies that Augustus, far removed from Greece most of the time and with all the concerns of

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tant officials were given responsibility for implementing the legislation. Oliver 1972 dated the decree to 27/26 BC; Culley 1977, 1975 dated it to between 10/9 and 3/2 BC; and Shear 1981 (pp. 366–367) argued for a Claudian date. It is discussed also by Jones 1978b, 222–228, Lane Fox 1986, 74, Alcock 1993, 194, Spawforth 2012, 107–112.

338 Shear 1981, 362; Alcock 1993, 195, quoting Shear.

339 Spawforth 2012 59–96 and 103.

340 Spawforth 2012, 70. For a similar interpretation of Augustus' transformation of the civic centre of Rome itself through building works and setting up monuments see Walker 2000. See also Zanker 1988, esp. Ch. 4 and Favro 1996, esp. Ch. 4.

341 Critiquing the museum analogy—Alcock 2002, 53–55; accepting that the agora became unsuitable for political meetings and that commerce was transferred to the Roman Agora—ibid., 64 and 61 respectively.

consolidating his power, took an extraordinary degree of interest in what was going on at Athens. I do not find this a convincing model for explaining how these changes were affected.

Another issue that has been emphasised in modern discussions of the itinerant temples at Athens is that most of these temples, both old and new, can be connected with Rome or the imperial family. The connection seems most apparent in the case of the Temple of Ares although there has been some disagreement as to its nature. Although Pausanias reports seeing several temples of Ares in his travels around the Peloponnese the god does not seem to have had a temple at Athens before this time.[342] His Roman equivalent, Mars, was on the contrary one of the most important gods of the Roman Pantheon. Some scholars have wanted to link the Athenian Temple of Ares to Augustus' Temple of Mars Ultor at Rome.[343] Vowed after the Battle of Philippi though not actually dedicated until 2 BC, the construction (reassembling) of the Athenian Temple certainly fits within this period. Others have argued that the Temple must have had something to do with Augustus' grandson Gaius being honoured as the New Ares in an Athenian inscription.[344] One scholar has even suggested that setting up a temple to the god of war in the heart of Athens might have been intended as a threat on the part of the Romans, though Tony Spawforth has pointed out that this makes little sense because in this period Athens offered

342 Pausanias saw cult places for Ares on the agora of Geronthrai (3.22.6), in Hermione (2.35.10), in the territory of Troiezen (2.32.9), on the road from Amyklai to Therapne in Lakonia (3.19.7), an Altar of Ares Horse-god at Olympia (5.15.6), an Altar of Ares at Megalopolis (8.32.3), another somewhere near Lykosoura (8.37.12) as well as an image of and sacrifices to Ares at Tegea (8.48.4–5). Pausanias also reports a fountain sacred to Ares above the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes (9.10.5).

343 E.g. Spawforth 1997, 187; 2012, 66–67; Thompson 1987, 9. Cf Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2008, 25, who stresses previous arguments, based on Pausanias' testimony and on the discovery that the temple originally came from Pallene and had been dedicated to Athena, that the temple was dedicated to a joint cult of Ares and Athena. On the Forum Augustum itself see here—3.13.

344 IG II^2 3250; Drusus son of Tiberius was also later honoured with the same title IG II^2 3257; on the possible connection of these inscriptions with the temple see Shear 1981, 362; Whittaker 2002, 35. Cf Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2008, 26 (with references to others who have taken a similar line) who has recently tried to disassociate the temple from the inscriptions, arguing that there is no evidence that Gaius was actually worshipped in the building. We do not, however, need to suppose that he was to see a connection. The high visibility of the temple on the agora could have been intended to evoke Gaius' or Drusus' association with the god without there being an actual cult to either within the building.

Rome no military resistance.[345] There is no need to see the other interpretations as mutually exclusive; the new temple may have had significance on a number of different levels, but some connection with Rome is almost certain.

Other probable connections between emperors and their families and temples on the Athenian agora include: a dedication to Livia Boulaia was found in the vicinity of the Southwest Temple which suggests she might have been worshipped there;[346] it is probable that Claudius was worshipped alongside Apollo in the Temple of Apollo Patroos;[347] the discovery of pieces of a statue base within one of the rooms of the annex behind the Stoa of Zeus, including a very fragmentary inscription, has led to a general consensus that these rooms accommodated the imperial cult.[348]

The Temple of Aphrodite Ourania on the north of the square may also have had a connection with the worship of the emperor and his family.[349] As a podium temple it was, in terms of its architecture, the most Roman of all the new religious buildings on the agora; furthermore it displayed architectural similarities to the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Akropolis.[350] Julius Caesar claimed descent from the goddess Venus (the Roman Aphrodite) and made a temple to Venus Genetrix the centrepiece of his new Forum.[351] It is rather surprising that these connections have, to my knowledge, not been

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345 Schäfer 1993, 94; Spawforth 2012, 67.

346 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 166; Oliver 1965.

347 Shear 1981, 363, reasoning from a statue base that identifies the emperor as that god—IG II–III^2 3274.

348 Argued fully by Thompson 1966b. The text of the inscription is: "(o dem[os---|---]ou (uion"—Thompson 1937, 62; Thompson 1966b, 181, fig. 3 and plate 57c. Because the inscription contains the word for son, instead of the patronymic in the genitive typical in Greek honorifics, Thompson argues that this was probably a base for a statue of a Roman individual. Thompson (1966b) considers a range of architectural and epigraphic parallels for this being a centre of the imperial cult. The suggestion has been widely accepted—e.g. Price 1984, 141; Alcock 2002, 60. Schmalz 2000, 111–112 makes some interesting new suggestions about the cult and proposes that the statue base had originally stood elsewhere, outside and exposed to the elements. Kantiréa has argued that housing the imperial cult in this building in particular was intended to draw a parallel between Augustus' military victories and those of the Greeks in the Persian Wars—Kantiréa 2007, 119–123.

349 See here 3.10.

350 The temple copied features of the Erechtheion as did the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Akropolis: Burden 1999, 166; Shear Jr. 1997, 498 ff.; Camp 1996a, 245–246; Shear Jr. 1984, 33–35.

351 On Caesar's divine lineage see Beard, North et al. 1998, 145 (with references). For the Forum Iulium see here 3.13.

pointed out before, especially when so many scholars have been quick to see parallels between the Temple of Ares and Augustus' Forum with its Temple of Mars Ultor.[352]

The negotiation of power between Athens and Rome was almost certainly an important part of why the temples were erected and scholars have been right to emphasise it. We should not, however, forget that these temples were above all places of local cult activity and as such facilitated interactions of groups and individuals in which power relations at the local level were also implicated. New temples meant new priesthoods and positioning these temples on the agora gave the holders of those positions, who would invariably have been members of the local elite, the chance to perform their duties before an audience in a very public setting. A further possible connection, and a very local one, that the Temple of Ares might have been intended to suggest to the Athenians was to the Council of the Areopagos (Hill of Ares). That venerable and ancient body of ex-archons was in many ways a relic of the earliest, pre-democratic period of Athenian history but under the Empire, as Athens became more oligarchic, it again rose in prestige and status.[353] The proximity of the Temple of Ares to the bouleuterion and other political buildings on the square could have been a pointed reminder of the Areopagos' connection to local government.

While it is tempting to think of Rome, and the Imperial House in particular, as taking the initiative in these dramatic transformations of the Athenian agora, thinking about what the buildings might have meant in a local context reminds us that there is no reason to deny the Athenians themselves all agency here. For what it is worth the mason's marks on the blocks of the Temple of Ares, which served as instructions in how the building was to be reassembled, use Greek letters. Of course the Romans could have employed local construction workers but it is equally possible that the Athenians themselves were the driving force behind the project. This in no way rules out that one of the main goals was to flatter the new emperor. It is surely likely that the religious reconfiguration of the agora conjured up a multiplicity of meanings and connotations and could be read differently by different viewers and in different circumstances. To look for a single meaning is therefore as unhelpful as it is futile. For present purposes, however, perhaps the most important point is that these buildings significantly increased the amount of religious space on the agora.

As we have seen with so many issues, there has been a tendency to generalise on the basis of the Athenian example that the relocation of older monu-

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352 See n. 343 above.

353 On the rising importance of the Areopagos in Roman Athens see Geagan 1967, 32–61.

ments to agoras was a widespread phenomenon in early Imperial Greece. Evangelidis has, for instance suggested "nostalgia, archaism, conservatism [and] rediscovery of the past" as the characteristic developments of the agora in this period.[354] Spawforth has recently said that the "relocation of sacred monuments in Greece and Macedonia is a noticeable phenomenon of the Augustan Age", citing parallels from Patras, Thessalonikē and Nikopolis.[355] Elsewhere he has argued on the basis of Pausanias' description that the Spartan agora *became* like a museum in Roman times in similar fashion to the Athenian agora, a comparison that Alcock has reiterated.[356] In truth, however, the scale of the movement of monuments at Athens is not paralleled elsewhere. Because the agora of Sparta has not been discovered archaeologically, in truth, little can be said about how long the monuments that Pausanias describes had been standing there by the time he saw them. At Patras and Nikopolis we only have evidence for cult statues being moved.[357] It is possible—even likely—that smaller monuments such as statues were moved more often. Pausanias, for example, mentions a number of cult statues on the forum of Corinth that he ascribes to Classical artists, and which must have been brought from elsewhere, though perhaps they had always been at Corinth. He also tells us that the statue of Apollo at Bassai was, at some point, transplanted to the agora of Megalopolis.[358] However, the movement of three or more whole buildings from one location to another is unique to Athens and evidence of the city's exceptionality. Whatever their precise significance they must surely therefore have something to do with Athens' unique status as centre of Greek Classical culture.

On other agoras at this time there is some evidence for increased religious activity, which as at Athens also often relates to the imperial cult. At Messene the imperial cult was incorporated in at least two central places. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the entire northern wing of the Asklepieion seems to have been converted to a sebasteion, at least by the time of Tiberius, a rare example of the construction of a specialised building for emperor worship in Roman Greece.[359] These two large buildings with six rooms each on either side

354 Evangelidis 2014, 336; see also p. 346.

355 Spawforth 2012, 65–66. He refers to Rizakis 2009, 24–27, who gives full references.

356 Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 137; Alcock 2002, 72.

357 Pausanias 7.18.10. Discussed by Rizakis 2010a, 132 and n. 20.

358 Pausanias 8.30.3. Susan Alcock suggested that the statues the periegete reported as missing from the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Lykaion (8.38.5) might also have been moved to Megalopolis.

359 Themelis 2003a, 79–80; Orlandos 1959, 113 ff.; Orlandos 1960, 159 ff. This building and the Sebasteion attested at Gytheion in an inscription (SEG 11, 923) are the only purpose-built

of the northern staircase of the Asklepieion complex have been identified as a centre of emperor worship by an *in situ* inscription dating to the reign of the second emperor that explicitly mentions the "sebasteion"[360] In the reign of Nero, the Arsinoe Fountain on the agora was also modified, the project dated by an inscription. The Doric colonnade was dismantled, two round hypaethral basins were added on the front and the building was equipped with an exedra at the rear that carried bronze statues assumed to have been of the imperial family.[361] This dramatic renovation transformed the fountain into a forerunner of the nymphaea that would appear on other agoras in the second century AD.[362] A bust of Claudius was also found in the agora of Messene in 2001 but it is impossible to say if it should be associated with a particular building or connected with worship of the emperor.[363]

At Thasos a monument to Augustus and the imperial family, of which now only the rectangular socle remains, was constructed in a fairly central location in the agora in the first century AD.[364] The orthostat carried a dedication to Augustus' grandson, Lucius.[365] The head of a statue of that prince was also found nearby.[366] Its excellent state of preservation suggests that the structure was probably covered with a canopy. The monument presumably also incorporated statues of Gaius, and Augustus himself. A head of Gaius was also found at Thasos.[367] To the east of that monument and practically touching it two statue bases have been found that probably also carried statues of the imperial family and were probably added later in the century.[368] Just outside the main entrance to the agora to the northwest a paved peristyle courtyard was constructed in

sebasteia known in Greece—Camia and Kantiréa 2010, 379. A full architectural study of the Messenian Sebasteion can be found in Hayashida, Yoshitake et al. 2013, 65–69.

360 SEG XXXV, 343. This is assumed to be the same as the "Kaisareion" mentioned in IG V 1, 1462. See also Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 162–164.

361 SEG XLVI, 418; Themelis 2003a, 55. See Luraghi 2008b, 192 for a prosopographical discussion of the benefactor named in the inscription and references to previous discussion.

362 On the transformations of the Arsinoe Fountain as atypical for the early Imperial period in Greece see Longfellow 2011, 112. On later nymphaea see here 4.5.

363 *Archaeological Reports* 2000–2001, 48.

364 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 73.

365 "To Lucius Caesar, son of the Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of the divinity, the city." Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, *178*.

366 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 267; Chamoux 1950b; See also Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, 61–62.

367 Considered in the context of other sculptural representations of Augustus' family by Chamoux 1950a.

368 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 73.

early Imperial times, backing onto the northwest stoa of the agora. Against its rear wall a large exedra and the foundations of five statue bases have been found *in situ*. An inscription found in the vicinity honouring a priestess of Livia suggests that the precinct may have been another centre of the imperial cult.[369] An inscription found in the agora of Thasos refers to the "temples of the Augusti" but there is no way of knowing which building this refers to.[370] Potentially then there was another imperial cult place in the city, perhaps on or near the agora. A statue of Hadrian was found in the absidal room in the southwest of the square together with three other statue bases.[371] The room was built in the early Imperial period and may have been a cult place for emperor worship.

At Sparta, Pausanias reports seeing temples to both Julius Caesar and Augustus on the agora.[372] At Elis he tells us again that the imperial cult was accommodated in what he described as an "old round temple" adjoining the agora.[373] Even if the temple had been constructed in the early Imperial period, it might have been thought of as old by Pausanias' day but it seems more likely that this was a more ancient building that had been put to new use. At Sikyon Pausanias tells us that what was believed to be the house of the Hellenistic tyrant Kleon had been converted into the imperial cult, a remark which Jaś Elsner has suggested was "ironic in the extreme".[374] Whether the building was deliberately chosen to make a subtle statement of resistance to imperial rule is impossible to say. Evangelidis has attributed this reuse of an older building to cost-cutting but since it is unknown archaeologically we cannot rule out that the rededication might have been accompanied by an expensive renovation project.[375] Camia and Kantiréa have stressed that reuse of existing sanctuaries for emperor

369 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 60.

370 Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, *185* l. 17 and l. 21 (τῶν Σεβαστῶν ναοί). Discussed by Evangelidis 2008, 134. These temples are also mentioned in IG XII Suppl. 364 l. 17 Another inscription at Thasos (IGRR I,833) mentions a temple of Roma and Augustus—discussed by Evangelidis, ibid. with reference to Hänlein-Schäfer 1985, 155–156.

371 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 71.

372 Pausanias 3.11.4. Spawforth argues that the temples must have been benefactions on the part of C. Iulius Eurykles, the powerful local dynast and friend of Augustus known to have been responsible for so much building work in the city at this time—Spawforth 2012, 220.

373 Pausanias 6.24.10: "ναὸς ἀρχαῖος στοαῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περίστυλος".

374 Pausanias 2.8.1. Elsner 1992, 19–20; Elsner argues that the irony was heightened by the fact that Pausanias immediately follows the remark with a digression on Aratos liberating Sikyon and Corinth from tyranny. Kantiréa (2008) has argued that the building became dedicated to emperor worship at the time of Nero's proclamation of the freedom of Achaia.

375 Evangelidis 2014, 345.

worship was not just the result of economic difficulties but was a useful way of creating a "religious dialogue between the representatives of the Roman power and the foreign subjects".[376]

Beyond the introduction of the imperial cult, evidence for new temples is much patchier. At Mantineia Fougères suggested that the twin temples, whose foundations he discovered in front of the theatre at the west end of the agora, might be those mentioned as being reconstructed as a benefaction of Epigone in the early Imperial inscription listing her various gifts to the city together with those of her husband Euphrosynos.[377] Vasilis Evangelidis has suggested by analogy with Sparta, where Pausanias mentions temples of Augustus and Julius Caesar on the agora, that the twin temples there might have accommodated the imperial cult.[378] Considering that Mantineia was, like Sparta, one of the few Greek cities to support Augustus in his war against Antony, the suggestion is plausible enough. There is, however, no reason to assume that the temples mentioned in the inscription must have been on the agora so we cannot push such speculation too far.[379] Furthermore the inscription does not specify that the benefaction involved two temples. At Messene fragments of a stone balustrade with representations of winged thunderbolts have been found in the agora and dated to the first century AD.[380] They have been associated with an, as yet, unexcavated Temple of Zeus Soter, mentioned by Pausanias. Whether this was a completely new temple or a renovation of a pre-existing structure is impossible to say though the latter interpretation seems more likely. An inscription from the period of Tiberius also relates to a repair of the Sanctuary of Demeter there.[381] While neither piece of evidence relates to the introduction of new cults, this maintenance and repair of older shrines is consistent with the image of religious renewal that Augustus wished to set in motion throughout the Empire and which no doubt resonated with continued local attachment to traditional cults.

376 Camia and Kantiréa 2010, 380.

377 IG V, 2, 268. See also here 3.6, 3.10 and 3.16.

378 Evangelidis 2014, 340; Evangelidis 2008, 131.

379 F.E. Winter has pointed out that there is no reason to think that all of the buildings mentioned in the text were on the agora—Winter 1987, 242.

380 Themelis 2003a, 52. The sanctuary is mentioned as one of the biggest discoveries of the preceding season in *Archaeological Reports* 2002–2003. One of the inscriptions found there is the second ever from Messene in Latin.

381 Themelis 2003a, 88.

3.11 Political Buildings

In thinking about the new elements that appeared on Greek agoras under Roman rule it is easy to forget that agoras continued to be the centre of politics and administration in most, if not all, Greek poleis. This is hardly surprising considering that the forums of the new Roman cities were also designated as centres of civic business. Furthermore, the creation of separate market buildings, which we have seen was fairly common at this time, would make little sense if some other purpose were not intended for the old agora. These agoras are often discussed as if they were primarily museums for the display of civic monuments. The continued maintenance and renovation of political buildings shows that this interpretation is inadequate.

I have already considered the provision for politics and administration on the Corinthian forum in the first few decades of the colony.[382] Throughout the first century AD these facilities were expanded. The east end of the main forum was closed off with the erection of the Julian Basilica, probably in the early first century AD.[383] Discovery of a tribunal within the building, along with the statues of the first Imperial dynasty that have given the building its modern name, suggests that it must have had a political function.[384] Rooms with a probable administrative function also continued to be constructed at the rear of the South Stoa. I have already mentioned the so-called "curia" in connection with the controversy as to whether that interpretation is correct.[385] Probably during the reign of Nero, shops 22–24 of the stoa were demolished to make way for the almost square hall, lavishly decorated with marble pavement and revetment, which is known as Room H in the publications of the excavation.[386] Traces of a bench were discovered against the rear wall, which suggests that the room was used as a meeting place, possibly of some of the city's magistrates. A new basilica was also erected to the rear of the South Stoa, the two buildings connected

382 See 3.4.

383 Weinberg 1960, 35–57. Cf now Scotton 1997 for a more up-to-date discussion. Scotton has also written the building summary for the website of the Corinth Computer Project: http://corinth.sas.upenn.edu/ad150julianbas.html (last consulted 12/06/2015). Larger than life statues have been found there of Augustus (Johnson 1931, 134), his grandsons Lucius (ibid., 135) and Gaius (136), probably Nero (137) and several fragments of other imperial statues, possibly of the Antonine dynasty (139–141).

384 Scotton ibid.

385 See 3.4.

386 Broneer 1954, 138–144; Broneer dated the room to the second century. See Williams 1980 Williams 1980, 20 n. 15 for the argument for a Neronian date.

by a monumental forecourt, which replaced two of the old shops of the stoa.[387] Although the new basilica is nearly identical in plan to the Julian Basilica it is thought to have been built some time later, probably under Domitian.[388] It too contained statues of the imperial family, although the surviving fragments are far from impressive.[389] Probably the most imposing political structure of the fully developed forum was the monumental speaker's platform, or "Rostra", as it is called in two inscriptions, that stood at the approximate centre of the Central Shops.[390] The epigraphic evidence dates the structure to the mid first century AD and Scranton thought it was built around 44 AD when Achaia became once more a senatorial province.[391] I have already mentioned the theory that it might have had a predecessor. I shall return to this structure in the next section to argue that speakers' platforms were a common feature of agoras and forums in Roman Greece and that they played an extremely important role in facilitating legal hearings and other public meetings. I will give a full description of the Corinthian platform and discuss the evidence for its use there.[392]

At Philippi, in the Antonine period, the lower terrace was clearly where the political buildings of the city were concentrated; these included a speaker's platform, a records house and the city's curia; the latter was the large building in the northeast corner, mirroring the supposed temple in the eastern wing.[393] The second century building phase at Philippi obscures our understanding of the first century AD state of the square but it seems likely that this would have also been a centre of government and administration in the early days of the colony. Numerous political buildings have also been said to have stood on the "forum" of that other new Roman foundation, Nikopolis, but there has been no excavation to confirm the identification or allow dating.[394] At Thessalonikē, provincial capital of Macedonia and a heavily Romanised city, a council house/odeion was one of the first buildings to be erected

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387 Weinberg 1960, 35–57; On the monumental forecourt—Broneer 1954, 115. Marble stairs led up to the basilica's first floor and two doors provided access to its cryptoporticus.

388 It was originally dated on numismatic evidence to the reign of Caligula, or Claudius—Weinberg 1960, 76; Weinberg 1949, 154. Robinson 1965, 24. For the revised date see Walbank 1997, 120 ff.

389 de Grazia Vanderpool 2003, 372 n. 20.

390 For a discussion of the remains see Scranton 1951, 91 ff.

391 Scranton 1951, 91.

392 In section 3.14.

393 Sève 2003, 107; Collart 1937, 341–345; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2003.

394 See 3.1.

on the new forum as we have seen; whether it was used for political meetings is, however, unclear.[395]

At old Greek agoras there is not much evidence for new political buildings but old ones seem generally to have remained in use in the Imperial period. It is worth reflecting that some of these were, by now, hundreds of years old—in particular council houses seem to have been retained wherever possible. At Athens, Thasos and Sikyon the buildings identified as council houses—the first one Classical, the other two Hellenistic—were still in use in the first century AD. So was the Classical "Hypostyle Hall" at Argos, which might have been the bouleuterion, although this is not certain. The same is true of supposed magisterial offices such as the Stoa Basileios and the Tholos at Athens and the Parascenic Building and northeast stoa at Thasos.[396] At Andros an inscription attests to the repair of the bouleuterion in the mid–late 1st century AD.[397] Several of the other political buildings just mentioned underwent modifications in Roman times, which were intended to enhance their appearance. This seems to suggest a certain reverence towards them.

The Athenian Tholos, which seems to have been damaged during the Sullan assault, was spruced up considerably. Probably in the Augustan period it was first given a floor of chipped marble; slightly later a porch was constructed at its entrance.[398] I have already mentioned the annex constructed at this time at the rear of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, a building that may have had some political purpose.[399] The floor of the building was also probably paved in marble at this time.[400] The Parascenic Building at Thasos was also

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395 The "council house" thought to have preceded the second century odeion—Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 18. On the odeion see here—4.2 and 4.6.

396 On the original construction of these buildings see sections 1.4 and 1.6.

397 IG XII 5, 755—Quéré 2011, 335.

398 The floor is dated by pottery deposits—Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 46; Thompson 1940, 63. Thompson tentatively restores the porch as of the Ionic order—Thompson 1940, 56. He also comments on the precision with which the porch was placed on the exact axis of the building—Thompson 1940, 48; I do not understand this comment. Surely a structure placed on the circumference of a round building could not fail to be on its axis. Cf Burden 1999, 161 for a critique of Thompson's restoration.

399 See 3.10.

400 Homer Thompson deduced the existence of the paving from an absence of evidence but his reason is sound enough. There was clearly some kind of floor that had been completely removed in antiquity; the only kind of floor that would have been worth removing was one made of marble slabs; a marble floor was unlikely to been part of the original fifth century building, hence it was probably a Roman addition, dating to the same time as the annex—Thompson 1937, 23; Thompson 1966b, 176–177.

paved in the early first century AD.[401] There was also some rebuilding of the Hypostyle Hall at Argos with the addition of a square base, c. 4×4 m, within the building, which has been suggested as either a speaker's platform or a statue base.[402] A first century AD inscription has been found at Messene that refers to a donation of 300 denarii for repair to the "logeion of the deikterion".[403] The building in question is assumed to be the theatre-like building that the excavators call the "ekklesiasterion" in the Asklepieion. The 300 denarii could not have covered more than minor repairs but it does indicate a continued interest in maintaining an older political building. We have already seen that the north wing of the complex was converted from whatever it had previously been into a sebasteion at this time.[404]

The only candidate for a new political building on an agora, of which I am aware, is the two-aisled so-called "bent stoa" ("portique coudé"—named because of the returning wing on its western end) that was erected along the southern edge of the agora of Thasos in the age of Augustus.[405] It had something of the aspect of a Roman basilica and should possibly be compared to the stoa/basilica that was erected on the Upper Agora of Ephesos at this time.[406] Another parallel, within the area covered by this book, is the second century AD stoa on the west side of the forum of Philippi.[407] It is quite possible that the Thasian building had a political or administrative function. It is, however, important to stress that this interpretation has been refuted by Jean-Yves Marc who has carried out the most thorough study of the building.[408]

401 Martin 1959, 66, 90, 99. Mentioned as a possible parallel for the Stoa of Zeus at Athens by Thompson 1966b, 177 n. 7.

402 Bommelaer and des Courtils 1994, 45 and 51.

403 SEG XXIII, 205 and 207; Themelis 2003a, 72.

404 See 3.10.

405 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 70–71 (with reconstruction drawing). See Marc 2001, 505 ff. for the most recent consideration of the building and arguments for the first century AD date. For the excavation reports—Picard 1921, 99–102; Daux 1950, 348; *Anonymous* 1952, 264–266; Roux, Dunant et al. 1954, 191; Roux 1955, 345–348; Salviat 1956; Salviat 1957, 713; and most recently Marc in Blondé, Bonnias et al. 1995, 693–696. It was in this campaign that the connection with the returning wing was discovered and the name "portique coudé" was coined.

406 On the building at Ephesos see Scherrer 2001, 13. Other examples of stoa/basilicas are known at other sites in the east of the Roman Empire, such as Cyrene, Cremna in Pisidia and Smyrna—Yegül 2000, 143–145. Most of these are, however, much later.

407 See here 4.2.

408 Marc 2001, 505 ff. He compares the building to the Stoa Basilikē at Thera and to basilicas elsewhere. He concludes that it was not a basilica because it was smaller than other known

This consideration of the political buildings that stood on the agora leads us naturally to one of the most important and most misunderstood issues to do with the Roman period agora—the use of the open space of the agora itself as a venue for gatherings of a political nature. The current consensus, largely derived from influential readings of the situation at Athens, is that agoras under the Empire ceased to be places for political meetings, the final disappearance of this age-old function, a final nail in the coffin of the polis as a participatory political community. This view has, in part, already been challenged by the argument in the previous chapter that it was only with the expansion of Roman power into the Greek world that bemata, or speakers' platforms, became common on the agoras of Greece, a sign of a shift toward a new Roman conception of the agora as a venue for meetings. There is good evidence that under the Empire such platforms continued to be common and that civic agoras continued to be used for legal hearings and possibly also other types of civic gathering. Because this interpretation runs so against the grain of received wisdom regarding the agora in this period it is necessary to examine this issue in some detail. Firstly, therefore, I will challenge the cornerstone of the current consensus, the assumption that the Athenian bema must have gone out of use at this time. A brief excursus to consider the evidence for speakers' platforms in Rome at the time of the early Empire will serve to make the case that it is unlikely that Roman influence would have brought an end to the use of agoras for public gatherings. I will then present the broader evidence for bemata and their use in Roman Greece and will then briefly consider another monument that reinforces my interpretation of a political use for the Athenian agora at this time: the altar, supposed to belong to the cult of Zeus Agoraios, that was moved from the Pnyx in the early Roman period and set up in the western half of the square.

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examples and that the separation of the rear aisle from the rest of the building by a wall also disqualifies it from being a basilica. However, the basilicas he mentions all come from Italy or the Greek East—a comparison with the basilica-forum complexes of the western half of the Empire might prove fruitful. Furthermore, Marc himself admits that the stoa at Thera had a political function. One argument in favour of a basilica-like function for the building at Thasos is that it was in the apsidal room to the rear of its returning wing that the statue of Hadrian would later be placed see also here 3.16. Statues of emperors often stood in places where civic business was conducted in order, by proxy, to represent the emperor himself—e.g. Apuleius *Apologia* 85, Kellum 2015, 424 and Fejfer 2008, 42 and 65 on statues as substitutes for officials. We have already seen how a collection of imperial statues was found in the so-called Julian Basilica at Corinth.

3.12 The Purported End of the Athenian Bema

In 1981 T. Leslie Shear Jr., then director of the Athenian agora excavation, for a special issue of Hesperia to commemorate 50 years of work at the site, wrote what has become an extremely influential article entitled "Athens—From City State to Provincial Town". Here he interpreted the redevelopment of the city centre in the early Imperial period in light of Athens' changed political circumstances. One of Shear's arguments was that in the age of Augustus the agora lost much of its importance in public life and in particular ceased to be used as a location for political gatherings. The late Hellenistic bema, which we discussed in the last chapter was central to this argument:

> as late as the first century B.C., there was a place of assembly in the Agora, and orators harangued the crowds from a speaker's platform erected for the Roman generals in front of the Stoa of Attalos. But to the Agora of the Roman period all this is foreign, for beginning in the reign of Augustus the *entire public square came to be occupied by buildings and monuments* (my emphases). It is as clear a statement of the new order in the world as can be made through the medium of architecture. A conquered city had little need for democratic assemblies and a subject citizen little voice in the determination of his destiny.[409]

Shear's conclusion that the agora ceased to be an assembly place at this time has influenced not only the way that modern scholars think of the Athenian agora, but also Greek agoras in general under the Empire, as places where no real political activity took place. Even Susan Alcock, who has done more than most to challenge the idea that all areas of life in Roman Greece were characterised by decline, has quoted him with approval.[410] Recently this view has been repeated by Theodosia Stephanidou-Tiveriou who suggests that Athenion's speech from the bema was "perhaps one of the last times when the people of Athens assembled in the open square of the agora before it was taken over by the massive Odeion of Agrippa a few decades later".[411] Jean-Yves Marc has questioned whether the new buildings really do represent such a violent break with the past, pointing out that even if public gatherings were no longer held on the agora there is no reason to think that the agora ever had been the regular

409 Shear 1981, 360.
410 Alcock 2002, 64.
411 Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2008, 15.

venue for political assemblies.[412] This is an important critique of the significance Shear attaches to the Augustan transformation. Nonetheless Marc still agrees with the premise that large-scale meetings could not have taken place on the square after the new buildings had appeared. In fact there is no reason at all to assume that the Athenian bema ceased to be used under the Empire.

Firstly it is clear that Shear's statement that the "entire public square" was filled in is blatant exaggeration—rhetoric aimed at emphasising the impact of the new buildings. Others too have also focused on the space that was lost. Jeffrey Burden attempts to quantify the space that was lost with the outlandish claim that the Odeion alone took up one third of the open space of the square.[413] John Travlos' reconstruction maps of the agora in various periods (much published in the Athenian Agora series and elsewhere) also give a misleading impression of the reduction in open space in the Imperial period because they only show smaller monuments, such as statue bases, on the Roman period map even though many of them were probably much older.[414] The monuments are presumably not shown on the maps of the earlier periods simply because, for the vast majority, it has either not been possible to date them or to pinpoint their exact location. Nevertheless, when the maps are displayed side by side to underscore the argument that a lot of the open space of the agora disappeared under the Empire—a way in which they have been used—the extent of the transformation is overemphasised.[415]

In truth the Odeion actually covered less than 10 per cent of the available open space and even the large number of smaller monuments would not have made the square unsuitable for public gatherings.[416] The total amount of open

412 Marc 1998, 13.

413 Burden 1999, 80.

414 In Thompson and Wycherley 1972 no statue bases are shown on plates 4–7 (illustrating the development of the agora from Archaic through to Hellenistic times). By contrast plate 8 (the agora in the second century AD) shows the agora cluttered with bases. The same is true of more up-to-date maps shown in more recent publications such as—Camp 1986.

415 E.g. by Alcock 1993. She illustrates the transformation of the agora in Imperial times with Figs. 26 and 27. (pp. 94–95), Travlos' maps of the agora in the fourth century BC and the second century AD. More recently, she more reasonably uses the map of the late Hellenistic period agora (the one showing the situation after the erection of the Stoa of Attalos and the South Square) to make the contrast—Alcock 2002, figs. 2.4 and 2.5, pp. 52–53.

416 The Odeion covers an area of c. 2,300 m^2 and there was c. 19,000 m^2 of open space left in the square even after the new temples were erected there (see Figure 39). The total amount of space lost would actually have been even less because there had been older buildings standing on the location where the Odeion came to stand. Burden himself refers to these structures but doesn't take them into account in his calculation (Burden 1999, 80).

space on the agora in Imperial times was still around 19,000 m^2 or enough space for at least 47,000 people to gather, possibly twice that number at a squeeze.[417] By any standards that is an enormous crowd. To put the amount of open space into perspective Trafalgar Square covers an area of approximately 11,000 m^2, the Dam Square in Amsterdam approximately 20,000 m^2 and the Grote Markt in Groningen, the provincial Dutch city where I did my PhD, around 6,000 m^2 (See Figure 38 for this comparison).

Of course, the new Augustan buildings did mean that the bema would no longer have been visible from every part of the square so more important than the capacity of the square as a whole is the question of just how big a crowd could have gathered around the platform. The original excavator of the bema, T. Leslie Shear Sr., had actually commented that a large area of open space around it had always been kept clear of monuments.[418] Figure 39 shows just how large that area was in the early Imperial period. The shaded area represents an area around the bema big enough to have contained a crowd of 10,000 people without having their line of sight to the platform obstructed by buildings or monuments. The darker areas are spaces on the terrace of the Middle Stoa and upper storey of the Odeion where a few hundred more people could also have stood and watched and listened to a speaker on the platform. If anything, the Odeion probably made the bema more suitable for meetings. With outward facing galleries on its upper floor, suggested by Homer Thompson as viewing

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There are also problems with his description of these buildings. He states that the Odeion's predecessors covered an area of around 600 m^2 but it is hard to square this figure with Homer Thompson's report of the remains of the only structure of note that he found there: an obscure, undatable monument surrounded by a peribolos in the southwest corner of the later Odeion and what sounds like a statue base or altar of the Archaic period beneath the west part of the orchestra—Thompson 1954b, 36–37. Thompson's description, furthermore, suggests that construction of the Odeion would have largely obliterated most earlier structures, which means that we do not actually know for sure how much space was lost to the new building.

417 To calculate the capacity of the Pnyx, Mogens Herman Hansen assumes that one person requires 0.4 m^2 of space—Hansen 1976, 131; Hansen 1996, 26–28. 19,000 ÷ 0.4 = 47,500. Hansen's allowance is, however, based on the premise that people would have been sitting on the Pnyx. G.R. Stanton (1996, 18), has argued that people standing in a crowd only require 0.23 m^2 of space. That would mean that 82,608 people could have fitted on the Roman period Athenian agora. The more conservative estimate, however, is sufficient here to demonstrate that the supposed "infilling" is a fallacy. It is worth noting that while Hansen disagrees with Stanton about whether people sat or stood in the Pnyx he seems to accept his figure of 0.23 m^2 per person for a standing crowd—Hansen 1996, 26.

418 Shear 1938, 324.

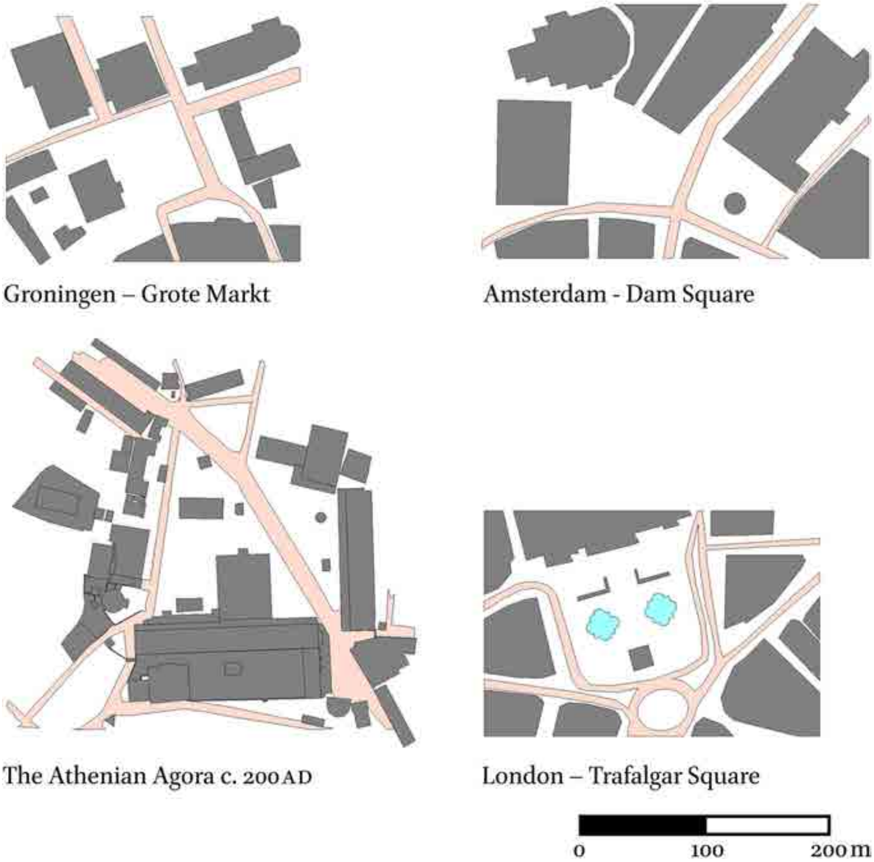

FIGURE 38 *The Roman period Athenian agora compared with three modern squares*

space for the Panathenaic procession it provided what was possibly one of the best vantage points on the square from which to see the bema.[419] Furthermore it can only have improved the acoustic situation by partially closing off the area around the platform and providing a wall for the sound of the speaker's voice to bounce back from.

To put the amount of space around the bema in perspective it is worth considering the number of people thought to have attended the democratic assemblies of Classical Athens; Shear has these assemblies in mind when he laments the infilling of the agora under the Empire. In Classical times the Athenian ekklesia met in the Pnyx. Excavations of the structure have shown that it under-

419 The design of the building is discussed at 3.7 here.

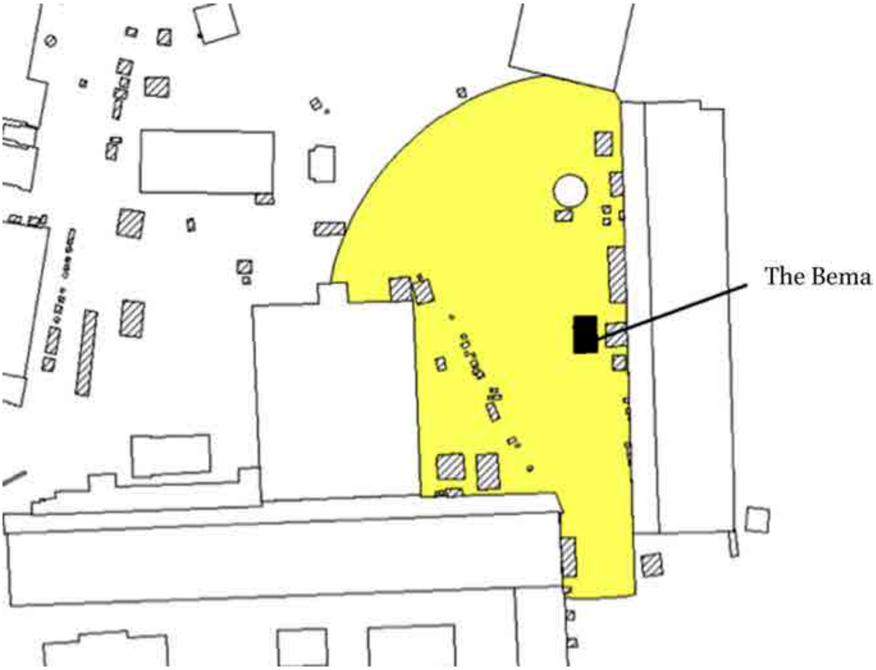

FIGURE 39 *Illustration that there was enough room for a crowd of at least 10,000 around the Athenian* bema *in the Roman period*

went three phases of construction: Pnyx I was built in the early fifth century BC, Pnyx II in the early fourth century and Pnyx III, it has now been established, towards the end of the fourth century.[420] Phases II and I are therefore the periods that were in use in the Classical period, the high point of Athenian democracy. In Phase II the building was slightly larger than in Phase I. According to the most conservative estimates the building then covered an area of around 2,600 m^2 and could accommodate a crowd of 6,500 people.[421] This was only a small fraction of the total Athenian citizen body, which demonstrates

420 A good summary of the three phases is to be found in Thompson 1982 (with references to previous scholarship). Pnyx III was for a long time thought to be Hadrianic. The late fourth century date was first suggested by Thompson and Scranton 1943, 297–301 but was only established as fact fairly recently by Rotroff and Camp (Rotroff and Camp 1996); see also Camp 1996b. Mogens Herman Hansen was initially sceptical about the fourth century date but is now convinced—Hansen 1996, 23.

421 This is Hansen's calculation (Hansen 1976, 130–131). Stanton thinks that Pnyx II was slightly larger (3,400 m^2) and that people require much less space than Hansen does. He therefore estimates that 14,800 people could have fitted in Pnyx II—Stanton 1996, 18. Stanton also

the limits of popular participation in politics even under the radical democracy of Classical Athens. Nonetheless the Athenian democracy is universally recognised as the most democratic of all ancient political systems, and its assembly as the main organ through which the demos enacted its will. It is, therefore, a major objection to the argument that the erection of the Odeion of Agrippa must have led to the bema going out of use that there was still more room around the platform than there had been on the Pnyx at the height of the Classical period. I should stress that I am not implying that this means that meetings of the ekklesia were held in the agora in Roman times—all indications are that the assembly met in the theatre as it had been since Hellenistic times. This comparison with the Pnyx is merely intended to demonstrate that the construction of the Odeion gives no reason at all to suppose that the bema must have gone out of use.

In discussing the fate of the bema Shear Jr. speaks of "democratic assemblies", implying that they disappeared from the agora at the turn of the Imperial period. His choice of words here is misleading because, as just mentioned, the Pnyx rather than the agora had been the regular place for ekklesia meetings. The only occasion on which the citizen body did gather in the agora for a political purpose in Classical times was for the fifth century ostracisms. Then a quorum of 6,000 citizens was required, which suggests that attendance probably did not much exceed that figure.[422] That number of men would only have taken up a small proportion of the vast open area of the Classical agora, which means that the amount of open space had probably always been far in excess of what was needed for political activity. The only meeting that we know for sure took place around the bema is the episode, discussed in Chapter Two, when Athenion gave his speech. That was hardly a democratic meeting and even if, as I suggested there, the agora might briefly, in the late Hellenistic period, have become the regular venue for ekklesia meetings it is unlikely that these were attended by crowds in excess of 10,000 people. In other words there is no reason to think that the Odeion had any negative impact on the use of the bema at all.

Another argument that has been made for the bema going out of use, has to do with its physical remains. Thompson and Wycherley, after examining

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provides Hansen's full scheme for the possible size of the Pnyx and its capacity in its three stages.

422 Plutarch attests to the quorum in his *Life of Aristeides* 7.6. His testimony is contradicted by Philochoros FGrHist 328 F 30 who states that a vote of 6,000 against a single man was needed for him to be ostracised. Most historians, however, find Plutarch's interpretation more probable. See P.J. Rhodes "Ostrakismos". *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*. Ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Leiden, Brill, 2005.

the surviving blocks, concluded that there was nothing to suggest the platform had more than occasional use.[423] From this comment, Susan Alcock has suggested that the Athenians probably felt squeamish about having a Roman speaker's platform on their agora.[424] The archaeological remains of the platform, however, are far from impressive and have never been thoroughly studied or published in any detail (see Figure 40). The monument received a single short paragraph in the excavation report the year it was discovered and a mere footnote in Volume 14 of the Athenian Agora series. In both places we are given information regarding its width and length—the platform is approximately 8.5 × 6 m—with Thompson and Wycherley providing the additional detail that there were staircases on either side to reach the top.[425] In neither publication is there any discussion of the material or construction technique of the platform or any attempt to estimate its height. In fact no mention is made of any blocks of the superstructure being identified and it seems that only the foundations have been discovered. Without the crowning members I do not see that there can be any evidence for wear and tear. Thompson and Wycherley themselves concluded that the platform was not destroyed until the third century AD.[426] By that time it would have been over three and half centuries old. It seems rather odd to think of the monument standing for so long if it wasn't being used. As for squeamishness, the Athenians had had ample opportunity to dismantle the platform when anti-Roman feeling was at its peak in the 80s BC.

As I have argued in Chapter Two, the introduction of the bema into the Athenian agora should probably be seen as a move toward a more Roman way of using the square for public gatherings. It is, therefore, misleading to imply that the agora had been a democratic assembly place before the age of Augustus and to use the bema as evidence to support that interpretation. The reason that Shear and others have assumed that the agora ceased to serve as the venue for public meetings under the Empire, have emphasised the infilling of the square and interpreted this as evidence for civic decline, is because it was evidence for decline that they were expecting to find. This is certainly not something that can be read from the reconstructed site plan as his words suggest. But making

423 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 51–52.

424 Alcock 2002, 64: "The notion of a Roman bema in the heart of Athens plainly evoked a certain squeamishness".

425 The two accounts disagree about the dimensions but not to a significant degree—Shear 1938, 324: 8.50 × 5.95 m; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 51–52: 8.35 × 5.60 m. McDonald (1943, 84) erroneously gives the platform's dimensions as 8.5 × 9.5 m.

426 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 51–52.

FIGURE 40 *The foundations of the Athenian* bema *surrounded by a modern protective wall*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

the case that there is no reason to think the Athenian bema became defunct in Roman times is not the same as presenting a positive argument that it did not. To make that case we need to now widen our focus beyond Athens to look at evidence for speakers' platforms beyond Athens. Because Rome has been considered as exerting the influence through which public gatherings disappeared from the Greek agora, and as providing the model for this, it is useful to make a brief excursion to the capital of the Empire to consider the evidence for the use of speakers' platforms there under the early Empire.

3.13 Public Squares and Meetings under the Empire—the View from Rome

If, as I have argued in Chapter Two, Rome, the Republic, provided the impetus for speakers' platforms and new kinds of meetings to be introduced into the agoras of Greece, is it plausible that Rome, the Empire, might have exerted the influence that led to those meetings disappearing from the agora? This is precisely the argument that has been made for Roman Athens, as we have

just seen. Elsewhere, the possibility that agoras might have served as public meeting places under the Empire has been largely ignored or downplayed by the insistence upon their supposedly museum-like nature.[427] This presupposes that the use of public squares for any kind of political gathering was anathema to the type of urban life that Rome desired for her subject cities; whether there was a central policy of clamping down on the use of public spaces for civic business, or the development was a local response to Empire, matters little because either way the finger of blame can be pointed at Rome. This line of thinking is however seriously at odds with what we know about the use of forums in Roman cities under the Empire. I shall turn presently to the case of the colonies in Greece but first it is worth considering the imperial capital itself. Even at Rome, much political business continued to take place publicly before a crowd, either in the old Forum or on the various new Imperial Forums. In particular, public legal hearings were one of the most important, and best attested, uses of the various forums.

In the final century of the Republic, and under the early emperors, the old Forum Romanum was gradually transformed, through a series of building projects, and the erection of monuments, into a showcase of imperial power. At the same time other areas of public space within the city were redeveloped to take over functions that had previously been concentrated on the Forum. In interpreting these developments some scholars have drawn a similar conclusion to that drawn for the Greek agora in this same period: that the Forum ceased to be a vibrant public and political space and became instead an imperial museum.[428] Here too the interpretation owes more to scholarly prejudice than it does to the evidence. A good example is the contradictory way in which Diane Favro interprets the architectural enclosure of the Forum. For the Republican period she argues that enclosure must have generated a sense of intimacy that was conducive to a lively public life; for the Imperial period she accepts that new building work must have increased this sense of intimacy yet argues that this has little to do with what the Forum was used for.[429] Actual evidence, of any kind, for the use of the Forum under the Empire is slight. However that evidence does not suggest that the Forum became anything as dignified as a civic museum. Just as for the Greek agora, there are indications that it remained

427 On which see here I.2 and C.1.

428 E.g. Brint and Salzman 1988; Favro 1988. Coarelli (2007, 47) characterises the Forum as "transformed into a celebratory backdrop, intended to exalt the prestige of the dynasty". On the vision of public space as a museum see I.2 and C.1 here.

429 E.g. Favro 1988.

home to all sorts of lowly activities.[430] More important to the present argument is that both literary sources and excavation data provide indications that certain types of public assemblies continued to convene on the Forum under the Empire. Furthermore, this function of the Forum was planned for in the building projects of the emperors themselves.

At the dawn of the Imperial Age Julius Caesar was the driving force behind several building projects that must have had an impact on the use of the Forum as an assembly place. He demolished the old Comitium, rebuilt the Curia, the meeting place of the senate, and began work on his own new Forum to the rear of that building. At the same time he constructed the new Saepta in the Campus Martius, which was intended to serve as an assembly place for the voting assemblies.[431] Some scholars have argued that Caesar's projects effectively banished popular assemblies from the Forum.[432] There are however, problems with this interpretation. In the first place it fails to account for the fact that, at the same time, Caesar also rebuilt the old Rostra—complete with the old prows from Antium—transferring it to a more prominent, central location at the western end of the square.[433] Furthermore, Cicero suggests that the new Forum Iulium might initially have been conceived as an extension of the Forum itself.[434] In its final form the project had become a completely new Forum with, as its centrepiece, a temple to Venus Genetrix, ancestor of the Iulii.[435] However, there is reason to think that the complex was also intended to be used for public

430 Nicholas Purcell puts it eloquently: "the architectural armature was no sterilised array of sclerotic grandeur, but teeming with relatively humble activity"—Purcell 1995a.

431 On the Saepta—Cicero *To Atticus* 4.17. On what is known of the location and physical remains of the building see Coarelli 2007, 289–290. It has been argued that Pompey had already intended, through his building work on the Campus Martius, to develop the area into a civic centre to rival the forum—Patterson 1992, 197.

432 Anderson 1984, 9; Favro 1988, 21.

433 Cassius Dio 43.49.1; Patterson 1992, 193–194; Sumi 2005, 78–80. Dio tells us that Caesar gave Antony the credit for the Rostra in the dedicatory inscription. For Diane Favro this does not show respect for either the structure or the institution of the Rostra but is instead more proof of Caesar's lack of respect for the Comitium—Favro 1988, 21: "blithely siting them [the Rostra and the new curia] to encroach upon the open space of the Comitium".

434 Cicero *To Atticus* 4.17. Cicero initially acted as Caesar's agent in buying up land for the project with Caesar's money. Ulrich has speculated that it is possible that the project originated as a plan on the part of a group of senators to expand the old Forum and gradually transformed into a separate complex, more closely linked with its benefactor—Ulrich 1993, esp. 53–56.

435 For a good overview of the Forum Iulium and the temple see Ulrich 1993 and Coarelli 2007, 103–108.

gatherings. It is therefore perhaps more appropriate to see it as augmenting, rather than detracting from the public space of the Forum. I shall say more about the Imperial Forums below.

Under the Principate the old Forum Romanum was, if anything, better equipped than ever before to accommodate public meetings. Augustus went on to construct a second Rostra directly opposite the first, at the eastern end, in front of the Templum Divi Iuli, which he decorated with prows captured at Actium.[436] He may also have further embellished the platform built by his adopted father.[437] The persistence of a connection between the Roman people and the old (Caesar's reconstructed) Rostra is suggested by the fact that the Genius of the Populus Romanus is attested as being worshipped in its vicinity.[438] Augustus may, or may not, have shared the people's attachment to the speaker's platform but he certainly at least paid lip service to its symbolic importance. His anger at his daughter's dissolute lifestyle is supposed to have peaked when she was found cavorting drunk on the Rostra.[439] This response suggests that however much Augustus may have desired to reduce the importance of the assemblies in Roman life he was either unable, or did not try, to undermine the Forum and the Rostra as focal points for public attachment.[440]

It is important to ask what kinds of meetings were actually held in the Forum on these two Rostra. Some scholars believe that popular assemblies might still, at least on occasion, have taken place there as late as the Antonine period.[441] The powers of the voting assemblies were, however, much reduced and it is clear that the Campus Martius was their normal venue at this time.[442] It is pos-

436 Referred to by Cassius Dio 51.19.1. The platform was probably separated from the temple itself—Coarelli 2007, 79. Caesar's Rostra was thereafter sometimes referred to as the "Rostra Vetera" in order to distinguish between the two platforms. In the context of Augustus' funeral Cassius Dio (56.34.4–5) refers to the platform as the "Julian Rostra".

437 A second century jurist refers to the platform as the "Rostra Augusti" (Pomponius *Digest* 1.2.43) thus leading to speculation that it might have been rebuilt or renovated under the first emperor. Though Purcell disputes this (1995b) Coarelli argues that the suggestion is borne out by the archaeological evidence for two building phases—Coarelli 2007, 64–65.

438 Cassius Dio. 47.2, 50.8; Purcell 1995b.

439 Cassius Dio 55.10.12.

440 As Nicholas Purcell (1995b) states of Augustus: "In the maturity of his power, he was to realise that the [Forum Romanum] could never be fully converted, and could only be marginalised".

441 See Wells 1992, Ch. 9.

442 On the limits of knowledge regarding the assemblies under the Empire and discussion of their powers—Millar 1977, 366, 368.

sible that something like the *contiones*—assemblies where issues were communicated and discussed as opposed to the more formal and highly regulated voting assemblies—which had always been held on the old Forum still were, even under the Empire. It is more certain that the two Rostra were used for other types of public gathering. Literary sources attest to funeral orations for emperors and other public ceremonies connected with the imperial family taking place on platforms in the forum.[443] It is, however, arguably as the venue for public legal hearings that the open space of the forum remained most important. Down to the reign of Hadrian, emperors themselves are known to have publicly dispensed justice in various settings, including from a platform in the old forum.[444] I return to the issue of what this suggests about the nature of imperial power in a moment.

For thinking about possible Roman influence on the Greek agora under the Empire, arguably more important than what happened to the old Forum Romanum, are the series of so-called Imperial Forums that were erected in its vicinity.[445] These new squares, erected by Julius Caesar, Augustus, Vespasian, Domitian and Trajan not only dramatically transformed the civic centre of Rome, they also redefined and expanded the very concept of what a forum was.

443 See Millar 1977, 369. Funeral orations: Tiberius for Augustus, Gaius for Tiberius, Severus for Pertinax (Cassius Dio 56.34,4–41,9; Suetonius *Caligula* 15.1, Cassius Dio 74.5,1 respectively). See also *Historia Augusta - Aurelian* 7. 11. Other ceremonials: Tiberius' adoption by Augustus—Suetonius *Augustus* 65.1. Purcell (1995a) believes that the adoptions of Gaius and Lucius probably took place there. A speech planned in a crisis, but not delivered by Nero—Suetonius *Nero* 47.2. Nero also received the subjugated King Tiridates of the Armenians in the forum, seated on the Rostra, in an elaborate ceremony—Cassius Dio 63.4.1. An emperor's first arrival in Rome—Vitellius, (Tacitus *The Histories* 2, 90); a return after a long absence—Marcus Aurelius—Millar 1977, 15. On Marcus going to the Forum with the other knights prior to his becoming emperor—Cassius Dio 71.35.5.

444 Emperors passing judgement in the forum: Augustus—Suetonius *Augustus* 93; Tiberius—Cassius Dio 57.7.2 (note in this case it was not the Rostra but a special platform, erected for the purpose, that was used); Caligula—Cassius Dio 60.4.3; Hadrian—69.7.1. Emperors making other public announcements in the Forum: Vitellius—Cassius Dio 65.16.4 and 65.16.4. Vespasian—Cassius Dio 66.10.6. Cf. 68.10.2. See also Millar 1977, 119–120 and 208. Millar (ibid., 368–369) also points out that, although there is little evidence at all for emperors making public speeches, the custom is attested throughout the Imperial period. The last emperor known to have done so at Rome is Constantine—Ammianus Marcelinus 16, 10, 13.

445 On the archaeology of the Imperial Forums see von Blanckenhagen 1954; Packer 1997; Coarelli 2007, 103 ff.—all provide references to earlier works.

Certain comparisons have been drawn between them and the transformation of Greek agoras at this time.[446]

All the Imperial Forums were fully enclosed rectangular spaces; agoras also tended to become more regular in shape and more fully enclosed at this time. All but the Forum of Trajan had a temple against the rear of one of the short sides dedicated to a deity associated closely with the imperial family (Trajan's Forum was part of a larger complex that did include a temple to the deified emperor); we have seen that at some agoras temples became more prominent and were often connected with the imperial cult. For Athens it is tempting to suppose some connection between the new Temple of Ares and the Temple of Mars Ultor in Augustus' Forum and, as I have suggested, between the new Roman-style podium temple of Aphrodite Ourania and Caesar's Temple of Venus Victrix.[447] The Imperial Forums were also deliberately designed for the glory of their creators and were designed to include statues to them;[448] statues of emperors and their families became common on agoras at this time, accounting for almost half of the surviving agora statues from this period.[449]

There are limits as to how far the comparison can be taken, something that is well illustrated by thinking about the situation at Athens. There, it is the so-called Roman Agora that has most often been compared with the Imperial Forums.[450] There are indeed similarities both architecturally and in the circumstances behind its erection. It too was a fully enclosed courtyard and, much like the Forum Iulium, was begun with funds from Julius Caesar and finished off with Augustus' money. It also incorporated a statue of at least one member of the imperial family, Augustus' grandson, Lucius above the main gate. In terms of its function, however, the building could hardly have been farther removed from the Imperial Forums. It was, as we have seen, a market building where common foodstuffs were sold.[451] The Imperial Forums on the

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446 Most notably by Walker 1997.

447 For both temples see here 3.10.

448 The Forum of Augustus was designed to showcase a whole sculptural programme portraying legendary figures from Rome's past and Augustus' own ancestors—Zanker 1988, 195 ff. and Geiger 2008.

449 My own preliminary finding. In carrying out the research for this book I compiled a catalogue of all statues known to have stood on an ancient agora. I have not included a discussion of statues in the book for reasons given in the Introduction but am expanding this catalogue in my current project which investigates statues and public monuments in the full range of public settings in Roman Greece.

450 E.g. by Shear 1981, 359–360.

451 Section 3.5.

other hand all had a strictly religious and political character. In that respect the old civic agora of Athens resembled the new Imperial Forums far more closely, yet architecturally the two were worlds apart. It is clear enough that the concept of the Imperial Forum did not translate directly to the situation in the Greek East.

The one question relating to the Imperial Forums that has not been brought into connection with the function of the Greek agora, and arguably the most important one, is what these new complexes were actually used for. By focusing on architecture and statues it is easy to overemphasise the museum-like nature of the new Forums and to see them solely as showcases for Imperial power. Reconstruction drawings that show only the buildings with perhaps one or two people to give a sense of scale add to this one-sided vision.[452] Scholars have thus been tempted to interpret them as one-sided expressions of autocratic power. Diane Favro, for instance, argues that Julius Caesar's claim that his new forum would alleviate the old forum of overcrowding was nothing more than the pretext for creating a personal monument to himself, and a pretext that later emperors did not even bother with.[453] Her interpretation completely ignores the fact that there is evidence that Caesar's forum actually *was* used for public business. It is pointless to speculate about how the later Imperial Forums might have been justified because the evidence does not exist; there is, however, evidence that they too were arenas for political and legal business. In this light the Imperial Forums must be seen as real public spaces where power was not so much imposed but negotiated with the masses.

The evidence for the use of the Imperial Forums has been assembled and discussed at length by James. C. Anderson.[454] Appian says that Caesar's Forum was intended as a centre for dignified political business, along the lines of the public squares found in Persian cities.[455] From this Anderson has suggested it served as the setting for some kinds of legal hearings.[456] Under Domitian a speaker's platform was erected there in front of the temple, which certainly suggests it

452 For example the reconstruction drawings on the website of the Museo dei Fori Imperiali—http://en.mercatiditraiano.it/sede/area_archeologica (consulted 12th September 2015). The drawings themselves are truly excellent but are designed to emphasise the buildings. They thus show only a few people. The impression would be rather different if the squares were shown teeming with activity.

453 Favro 1988, 20.

454 Anderson 1984.

455 Appian *The Civil War* 2.101.

456 There is an attestation of a court meeting there but it is late (fourth century)—Anderson 1984, 53 and 62. Also on the functions of the Forum Iulium see Ulrich 1993.

was some kind of gathering space.[457] The Senate is also known to have met in the Temple of Venus under the early Empire.[458] For Augustus' Forum both Suetonius and Cassius Dio list various functions.[459] Some had to do with warfare and diplomacy which leads Anderson to interpret the complex as a kind of "foreign office", but these mostly relate to the Temple of Mars Ultor.[460] The open space itself is best attested as accommodating law courts and Anderson argues that it was the chief location for trials throughout the first century.[461] Occasionally at least, the emperor himself is known to have presided at such hearings.[462] After the dedication of the Forum of Trajan the literary and epigraphic evidence for the use of the Forum of Augustus trails off and there is good evidence that the new complex took over most of its functions.[463] Literary sources attest to the hemicycles, colonnades and the open space itself being used for civic business and especially law courts and tribunals.[464] Anderson argues, from the number of inscriptions that have been found there relating to the praetorian prefects and the praefectus urbi, that these magistrates convened their courts there.[465] The Forum of Trajan was also the setting for at least two major public events ordered by the emperor. Hadrian ordered all records of unpaid debts to be burned there and Marcus Aurelius held a sale of his private property there to fund his so-called Marcomannic War.[466]

457 Anderson 1984, 52 and 57–58. The entire complex was extensively rebuilt under Domitian—Anderson ibid., 55 ff.

458 Suetonius *Caesar* 78.1, Livy *Summaries* 116, Cassius Dio 44.8.1–2.

459 Suetonius *Augustus* 29.1. Cassius Dio 55.10.1–5. Specifically, certain types of public prosecutions and the selection of jurors for these by lot were to take place there.

460 Other functions include the dedication of crowns and sceptres by victorious generals, the official departure of governors leaving for military provinces, for senate meetings, for declarations of war and granting triumphs. All discussed by Anderson 1984, 88 ff. with reference to literary and epigraphic testimonia.

461 Anderson 1984, 93. The function of the Forum Augustum has also been explored by Bonnefond 1987, who draws a not unimportant conclusion for our purposes—that the uses of the new forum show that it was intended to complement the Forum Romanum and not to replace it—Patterson 1992, 209. Cf Zanker 1988, 214.

462 Claudius—Suetonius *Claudius* 33.1; Trajan—Cassius Dio 68.10.2 Dio says he also presided in other settings.

463 Anderson 1984, 98. The last we hear of the Forum of Augustus being used is as a lecturing space for the fourth century AD orator Endelechius—Anderson ibid., 99. On the functions of the Forum of Trajan see Anderson ibid., 159 ff.

464 Aulus Gellius 13.25.2, Sidonius Apollinaris *Carm* 2.544–545.

465 On the Praetorian Prefect—Anderson 1984, 162–163; On the Praefectus Urbi, 164 ff.

466 On Hadrian's debt burning—*Scriptores Historia Augusta. Hadrian* 7, 6 and CIL VI. 967 (see

In short then all indications are that (semi-) public gatherings continued to take place on the Forum Romanum and that the new Imperial Forums were places where crowds saw political business enacted before them or were communicated to by higher magistrates and emperors. Such spaces were clearly an important part of the political life of the city and even the autocratic figure of the emperor himself was required to interact with the people in this way. Fergus Millar points out that Fronto advised Marcus Aurelius on two occasions on the necessity of his mastery of oratory for addressing large crowds.[467] Cassius Dio commented approvingly that the reason that Hadrian held court in various places around the city, including the forum was so that "whatever was done was made public".[468] This implies that the emperor's judgement was subject, to some degree, to public scrutiny and accountability. By presenting themselves in public, emperors could risk real physical danger; Claudius was once pelted with bread crusts by an angry crowd in the Forum during a food shortage.[469] The fact that public audiences persisted for so long therefore attests to just how important they were as a means of maintaining imperial power. Occasions when the emperor himself mounted a public speaker's platform must have been few compared with those when other magistrates did so and we should probably imagine that political and legal business took place on the public spaces of the imperial city fairly frequently until at least the late second century AD, if not later.

We should expect that in the imperial capital the level of popular participation in political life would have been at a minimum compared with the rest of the Empire. If at Rome a large part of political business was conducted in the public gaze, and even the emperor himself was obliged to appear in public when passing judgement, it is implausible that Rome would have exerted an influence through which self-governing Greek cities ceased to use the main public space of their cities for similar purposes. In fact the evidence points to the reverse being true. We have seen that the best attested function of the various forums in Rome in this period is as the venues for legal hearings in which speakers' platforms were used. Returning to the Greek East we will now see that there, too, there is evidence for speakers' platforms on colonial

Anderson 1984, 160). For Marcus Aurelius' public sale Eutropius 8.13.2; Cf Cassius Dio 73.11.3 who does not explicitly mention the forum (Anderson ibid., 169). See also Millar 1977, 148.

467 Millar 1977, 203. Fronto *On Eloquence* 2.7 and To Marcus as Caesar 3.1.

468 Cassius Dio 69.7.1—"ὥστε δημοσιεύεσθαι τὰ γιγνόμενα".

469 Suetonius *Claudius* 19.

Forums and the agoras of old Greek cities and that the best indications are that they too were used in trials.

3.14 Bemata on the Forums and Agoras of Greece

At the two well excavated Roman colonies in Greece, Corinth and Philippi, a bema has been discovered in a central position on one of the long sides of the open square. At Philippi the remains of the platform date to the Antonine phase of the forum and will therefore be discussed in the following chapter. The structure must have had a predecessor, however, because the *Acts of the Apostles* describes how Paul was brought before a Roman magistrate on a bema on the agora in the first century AD.[470] The platform at Corinth was a very grand structure, in keeping with Corinth's presumed status as the capital of the province of Achaia. It covered an area of some 14×7 m, making it 5.5 m longer and 1.5 m wider than the Athenian one.[471] The platform was constructed partly of marble, partly of cheaper stone covered in marble revetment. The base was topped with a crown moulding and covered with blue marble pavement. The entire platform was covered by a roofed canopy supported by Corinthian columns. The mouldings of the supporting base appear to have been influenced by the famous Athenian Erechtheion. On both sides of the platform, at the level of the lower forum floor, were exedras, also made of marble, which are thought to have provided waiting room for individuals who came before the platform on public business. The platform was erected, or at least covered with marble as a benefaction on the part of a local citizen sometime in the second quarter of the first century AD.[472] The inscription that records the gift refers to the platform as the "Rostra", in the plural, thus suggesting a deliberate emulation of the famous platform at Rome.[473]

It stood in the middle of the so-called Central Shops, which as we have seen divided the lower, northern forum of Corinth from the upper, southern

470 *Acts of the Apostles* 17.

471 On the remains see Scranton 1951, 91 ff.

472 Kent 1966, *322*.

473 Holes have been found along the front of the platform which may well have been for hanging prows, or at least models of prows. Mary Walbank has suggested that these might instead have been used to hang notices—Walbank 1997, 122. It is, however, curious that the name of the platform is in the plural. While that might merely have been in homage to the famous platform at Rome, it would make more sense if there actually were prows hanging on this structure too.

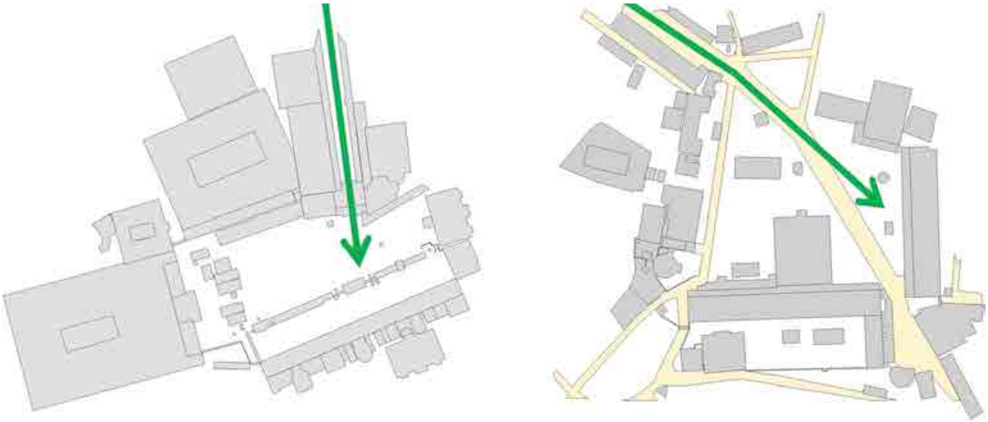

FIGURE 41 *Schematic plans of the Corinthian forum and Athenian agora to show that at both cities the speaker's platform was in direct line of sight for someone entering the agora by the main approach*

terrace. Much of the political apparatus of the city seems to have been housed in the rooms to the rear of the much-renovated South Stoa while the so-called Southeast Building at the east end of the southern terrace might have been the city's records office, or tabularium.[474] The spatial setting of the bema at the nexus between a more administrative and a more public area suggest that it was perfectly placed to serve as the point of contact between officials of local government and the rest of the city's population. The Rostra was also positioned so that it was almost directly aligned with the main entrance to the forum via the propylon at the end of the so-called Lechaion Road. It would certainly have been one of the first things that any visitor would have seen on entering the forum from that direction; this was, probably significantly, the main approach for a visitor arriving at Lechaion from the west and from Rome.[475] In this regard it is worth noting that the Athenian bema too was closely aligned with the direction of the Panathenaic Way at the point where it entered the square (see Figure 41).

We have some evidence for what these platforms were used for. An inscription found at Corinth, probably dating to the second century AD, refers to the reading aloud, from the Rostra, of a decision of the provincial governor regarding a building project at Isthmia.[476] It is therefore possible that these bemata

474 On the South Stoa in Roman times see here 3.4 and 3.11.

475 In Pausanias' itinerary this is the road he leaves by (2.3.2), arriving at Corinth, as he did, from the east.

476 Broneer 1939.

served on a regular basis for such public pronouncements by figures of authority. There is, however, much more evidence for thinking that these platforms were used in legal hearings. In the *Acts of the Apostles* we hear of St. Paul being brought before the provincial governor at Gallio at Corinth, having angered the Jews of the city through his attempts to convert them to Christianity.[477] The passage specifically mentions a bema and Oscar Broneer argued that this event took place at the Rostra in the forum.[478] Recently this suggestion has been challenged by Paul Scotton who is convinced that Paul actually faced Gallio in the so-called Julian Basilica.[479] His argument is based on the discovery of evidence for a tribunal within the building. Basilicas certainly were used for legal hearings under the Empire so his interpretation is possible. However, it can only be preferred as the setting for Paul's audience if we ignore evidence from elsewhere for legal hearings being held in the open space of forums and agoras. The bema at Philippi is certainly attested as being used for this purpose. As mentioned, the platform is also mentioned in *Acts*, in an episode in which Paul had also fallen foul of the local authorities and was hauled before the city's magistrates who were sitting on a tribunal that is here explicitly said to have stood on the agora.[480] We have also seen plenty of evidence for public legal hearings taking place on the various forums at Rome itself.[481] There are several pieces of literary evidence from the early Empire that either directly describe bemata being used for legal proceedings on the agoras of Greek cities, or implicitly make reference to them.

Firstly in his novel, the *Golden Ass* or *Metamorphosis*, Apuleius provides us with a rather vivid description of a trial on an agora.[482] In the episode that is of interest here, the book's protagonist Lucius, not yet transformed into a donkey, has arrived in the small town of Hypata in Phthiotis on the eve of a local festival of laughter. Returning home to his tavern drunk he believes himself to be attacked by robbers. He fights them off, kills them with his sword and goes to bed. The following morning some magistrates arrive at the inn to arrest

477 In *Acts of the Apostles* 18.

478 Broneer 1937. One of the arguments in favour of this hypothesis is that a medieval church was constructed directly above the Rostra. The location of the church would make perfect sense if the Rostra had become revered as the place where Paul had his audience.

479 Scotton 2002. See also the report on his forthcoming monograph, a reworked version of his dissertation, at: www.csulb.edu/misc/inside/archives/v6on6/stories/6.htm—interview dated 2008, consulted 12/09/2015.

480 *Acts of the Apostles* 17.

481 Here at 3.13.

482 Apuleius *Golden Ass* 3.2–9.

him for murder. He is led through the streets of the city to the place where his trial is to take place: the city's agora, which in Apuleius' Latin is referred to as the "forum".[483] The word "forum" unlike "agora" cannot be used in an abstract sense to refer to gatherings of people. The actual marketplace of the city must therefore be intended. Lucius finds himself before a tribunal on which magistrates of the city are seated. At this point, because the square becomes too crowded with spectators, the venue is moved to the theatre. Eventually Lucius discovers that he has been the dupe of an elaborate hoax, which is part of the laughter festival. The men he thought he had killed turn out really to have been wineskins. The entire community was in on the joke, and soon regret it when they discover Lucius' noble background.

The laughter festival has received considerable modern attention for its anthropological significance but the trial itself far less so.[484] This is a mock-trial described within a work of fiction but there is every reason to suppose that Apuleius is describing a familiar scene from real life. The *Golden Ass* is filled with magic and farce in almost equal doses but the story is rich in details of daily life, which serve to ground it firmly in the contemporary world of first century AD Roman Greece. The fantastical elements of the story work so well precisely because they contrast so sharply with the carefully constructed world presented throughout the work. Fergus Millar has made a strong case for the novel's usefulness as a source for social and political history.[485] With particular reference to the trial there has been some debate as to whether local governments would have had the power to try people for murder but Millar believes that even this aspect of the episode is plausible.[486] The question of local judicial power is less important here than whether the agora could have been the location for criminal trials of any kind and there is reason to think that this detail is authentic. Apuleius is at pains to build up a feeling of dread as Lucius is arrested and led to his fate; the reader is clearly supposed to share his surprise on finding out that he has been duped. Neither the suspense nor the

483 Apuleius *Golden Ass* 3.2.

484 E.g. by Robertson 1919 and Frangoulidis 2002. Robertson argues that although the trial might have been spontaneously planned other aspects of the story were probably based on a real festival and were regular features. In particular he notes the Hilaria festival attested elsewhere (see ibid. for references) as a potential parallel.

485 Millar 1981.

486 Millar argues (ibid., 70–71) that it would not have been practicable to defer every case of homicide to the Roman authorities so sometimes such matters would have been handled locally. Millar also provides references to previous authors who have argued that jurisdiction for murder trials was the preserve of the Roman governor.

eventual surprise would work as literary devices if the details of the arrest and trial were themselves farfetched. The agora is mentioned in a rather matter-of-fact way with no hint that this was anything out of the ordinary. Apuleius clearly expected his readers to be familiar with trials of some kind being held on the agoras of small towns in Roman Greece. Whether there actually was a tribunal on the agora of Hypata does not matter.[487] This depiction of a fairly small and insignificant town in Thessaly is clearly supposed to be recognisable to Apuleius' readers, which suggests that such scenes on the agora cannot have been unusual. In the roughly contemporary novel *Chaereas and Callirhoe* by Chariton we also hear of a trial taking place on an agora and the scene described is similarly raucous. Though set in fifth century BC Sicily, the novel makes few pretensions to historical accuracy and this scene is surely likely to have been influenced by the way things were done in contemporary Greek cities.[488]

There is more evidence for bemata being used for legal hearings on agoras in Plutarch. Plutarch stages his essay "Whether the affections of the soul are worse than those of the body" as a speech he gave during a yearly assize session on the agora of some Greek city in Asia Minor, possibly Ephesos.[489] The passage vividly conveys Plutarch's distaste at the tumultuous scene as throngs of people clamoured to have their cases judged by the presiding magistrate. The assizes were, of course, a decidedly Roman way of administering justice in the provinces. As such, the passage again points to a direct Roman influence behind the presence of a bema on this agora and undermines the idea that it was Rome that brought an end to such use of the agora. The word "agora" was certainly one of the terms used by Greeks for "assize" under the Empire.[490] The assizes, of course, occurred on an occasional basis and it is uncertain if the assize system was even in place in the province of Achaia. At the very least, however, Plutarch's eye-witness account is evidence for another speaker's platform standing on the agora of a Roman Greek city and shows us that platform being used for legal business.

487 The site of Hypata is known but there has been little archaeological research there. See Decourt, Nielsen et al. 2004, 708 ***420***.

488 Chariton *Callirhoe* 1.5.2–3 On details of contemporary Roman life coming through in the writing of Chariton see Connors 2002.

489 Plutarch *Moralia* 501 E–502.

490 In, for example, Aelius Aristeides 50 (*The Sacred Tales* 4). 78 and 106. On other words used for "assize" see Burton 1975, 92 with references.

Elsewhere Plutarch gives reason to think that he himself was used to speaking from a bema in the agora. In the essay best known as the "Precepts of Statecraft" he writes:

> When entering some sanctuaries men leave their gold outside; but iron, one may say, they do not at all carry into any sanctuary. And since the bema is a sanctuary common to Zeus the Counsellor and the Protector of Cities, to Themis and to Justice, do you strip off all love of wealth and of money, as you would iron full of rust and a disease of the soul, cast them straightway at the beginning into the agora of hucksters and money-lenders[491]

Plutarch is arguing that greed and political integrity are incompatible. He makes his point by contrasting two physical places within the city—the speaker's platform which is like a religious temenos dedicated to the lofty ideals associated with Zeus, and the agora, which is a disreputable place where only profit matters. Plutarch does not say that he is imagining a speaker's platform actually standing in the agora but this seems to be the implication. The metaphor of the man physically casting his love of wealth *into* the agora, before mounting the platform gains considerable rhetorical force if Plutarch intended to conjure up the image of a man stepping up on a platform that was actually located in the agora. In his *Life of Timoleon* and in the *Comparison Between Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus*, Plutarch refers to, respectively, "agora, civic life and bema" ("ἀγορᾶς καὶ πολιτείας καὶ βήματος") and "bema and agora" ("τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν") as synonymous with political life.[492] Given the ambiguous nature of the word "agora" we must be cautious about reading too much significance into this but it is tempting to think that this phrase is drawn directly from Plutarch's own experience of civic life and his familiarity with speakers' platforms on the agora.[493]

491 Plutarch *Precepts of Statecraft. Moralia* 819 E.

492 Plutarch *Life of Timoleon* 22.4; *Comparison between Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus* 2.11. Note that Bernadotte Perrin for the Loeb edition, in the case of the first reference, translated the word "bema" as "public speaking". While the word might be intended as a metonym, I suggest that the connection between agora and bema was meant to be taken more literally. For the second reference he left the word untranslated.

493 I.e. the word "agora" in this context might mean assembly rather than public square but, for the reasons given here, I favour the interpretation that it has the latter meaning. Very little is known of the physical remains of Plutarch's native Chaironeia; the site has not been excavated so no bema has been found—Hansen 2004, ***201***.

Dio Chrysostom provides several indications that he too thought of the agora as the setting for public legal hearings. In the first place his discourses contain a number of disparaging remarks about orators who are active on the agora. Dio was, of course, a prolific public speaker but he makes it clear that his ire is aimed at a particular kind of orator:

> all those orators, that is, who … carry on their business in the agora [agoraioi] and work for hire with their eyes fixed on matters of money only and on private disputes regarding contracts or loans out at interest.[494]

He goes on to distance this sort of speaker from the type of orator he feels himself to be: a type that has more in common with philosophers and uses their talents, not for profit, but to speak for the good of the polis.[495] In a separate oration Dio Chrysostom again expresses his contempt for this group and is again at pains to disassociate himself from them:

> I do not lie in wait for any of the citizens, nor do I take pay from anybody, nor do I stand ready to levy tribute on your country, nor do I make myself a nuisance to anyone in the agora—for I am no orator (οὐ γάρ εἰμι ῥήτωρ)—nor have I defended anyone in court, save one luckless fellow alone whom I saved from being torn to pieces by his kinsmen and guardians.[496]

These references to the presence of lawyers touting for business suggest that the Greek agora or buildings in its vicinity were, most likely, the place where legal hearings took place at this time. In his 33rd, or First Tarsic, discourse Dio also suggests that the Greeks in his day were familiar with public gatherings taking place in two main settings. Talking of the role of orators in the city, and this time including himself, he asks, "Do you believe that we possess a different power in word and thought alike, a power of persuasion that is keener and truly formidable, which you call rhetoric, a power that holds sway both in the agora and on the bema?" ("ἔν τε ἀγοραῖς καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα δυναστεύουσαν").[497] It

494 Dio Chrysostom 22.1.

495 Dio's impression of himself as not just another orator was shared by Philostratus who didn't know quite how to categorise him; for that reason, in spite of his admiration for the man, he did not give him a full biography in his *Lives of the Sophists*—1.487. Dio was also often critical of men he labelled as sophists—see Anderson 1993, 21, citing Dio Chrysostom 33.4 ff. and 35.8 ff.

496 Dio Chrysostom 43.6.8.

497 Dio Chrysostom 31.1.6.

is his use of the words "te" and "kai" that suggests he is talking here about two separate locations where people were used to hearing orators declaim. Lamar Crosby, for the Loeb edition, translated the passage as "both in the forum and on the rostrum". Speaking in Tarsus, it is unlikely that Dio was referring to a specifically Roman situation, although there is no reason to think that forums and agoras were seen as radically different types of public space. The important point about Crosby's translation, however, is that he believes Dio's use of the word "agora" here refers to some kind of a public square. If Crosby is right, that would mean that Dio expects his audience to think of a bema in a location other than the agora: possibly the platform in the council house but more likely the speaker's platform of the theatre, the principle venue for political assemblies.

A slightly different translation is also possible in which "agora" is interpreted in the abstract sense as referring to public gatherings. This translation has the advantage that it makes sense of the distinction that Dio seems to be making by using a plural form of the word "agora" and a singular form of the word "bema". If Dio's audience would have immediately thought of the place where they held their ekklesia meetings when they heard this reference to "agoras" then they would have imagined a different location for the "bema", possibly the council house, possibly the agora. The ambiguity of Dio's words cannot be resolved and may well have been deliberate. What is important is that the passage certainly refers to different settings where people were used to hearing orators and, whichever way it is translated, there is a good likelihood that one of them was the agora. An additional indication that there were two main arenas for popular participation in politics can be found in another of Dio's orations. In his seventh, or "Euboean" discourse the people gather in an unspecified public space in the city before transferring to the theatre for a public assembly.[498] This brings us full circle back to Lucius' trial in Apuleius' *Golden Ass* where the agora and theatre are the two arenas where the public assembles to watch the magistrates pass judgement.

No new bemata have been identified in excavations of Imperial period Greek agoras though, as for the late Hellenistic period, this could easily be explained by the fact that archaeologists have not been looking for them. For example, at Butrint the excavator's first instinct is to suppose that a large base, 4.5 m long and 2.1 m high on the north of the forum might have supported a statue group.[499] In such cases—especially when the city in question was a Roman

498 Dio Chrysostom 7.21 ff. C.P. Jones also notes the similarity with Apuleius' description of Lucius' trial at Hypata—Jones 1978a, 58.

499 Hernandez and Çondi 2008, 284.

colony, as Butrint was—the possibility that the platform might have been a bema must be seriously considered.

There is, moreover, other archaeological evidence that supports my argument that the Greek agora served as the main centre for legal business within the Roman period polis in the form of buildings that were modified to function like basilicas. At Megalopolis a bema was erected under the early Empire, not on the open space of the agora but within the Stoa of Philip, a development which, the excavators have argued, equipped the building to function like a basilica.[500] A platform was also erected under the Empire in the refurbished Hypostyle Hall at Argos, which may have been a large statue base but may also have been a speaker's platform.[501] At Mantineia too the refurbishment of the large building on the southeast of the square included the erection of a platform.[502] The building was once thought to have been the bouleuterion but now that F.E. Winter has challenged that identification it is surely a possibility that it too was intended to function like a basilica.[503] At Thasos the three-aisled South Stoa could be compared to a basilica.[504] Basilicas were a typically Roman type of building that could have a commercial function but which often served as courtrooms.

At Athens, as we shall see in the next chapter, an actual basilica was erected in the Hadrianic period on the north side of the agora, very near the place where court buildings had stood in Classical and early Hellenistic times.[505] Although we cannot be certain about its function, its splendid decoration suggests it was used for civic business rather than as a market building. Pausanias refers to the famous law courts of Athens as still functioning in his day, suggesting that litigation was still big business in the city.[506] He does not say where the courts were located but a location in or near the agora would make sense. There can be no talk of continuity in the association between the northeast part of the agora and legal business. After the dismantling of the Square Peristyle Building in the mid second century BC no buildings of a potentially legal character stood in that area until the basilica was erected. For the first half of the intervening period I have argued that the courts were housed in the new South Square.[507] The dam-

500 Marc 1998, 13.
501 Bommelaer and des Courtils 1994, 45 and 51.
502 Fougères 1898, 176.
503 Winter 1987, 240–242. Cf Fougères 1898, 175–178.
504 As I have argued here at 3.11.
505 See 4.7 here.
506 Pausanias 1.28.8–11.
507 See here 2.4.

age sustained by that complex in the Sullan assault of 86 BC put paid to its original use and throughout the first century AD it was used for industrial activity.[508] Where, if anywhere, the courts were held at this time is unknown. It has been suggested that the restoration of the South Square in the second century AD signalled a return to the original use of the complex but this is far from certain.[509] The location of the new basilica makes it tempting to suppose that some local tradition had preserved the memory of the location of the courts in Classical times. It would certainly have been in keeping with the spirit of the age if the basilica was deliberately constructed near the place where famous forensic orators such as Demosthenes and Aischines had made some of their most famous speeches. What matters most here, however, is simply that the very presence of the basilica suggests that the Athenian agora was a centre for legal business.

To now return to the question of whether the Athenian bema was still in use in Imperial times, the answer must be that it is very likely that it was. Just as at Rome, in the cities of the eastern half of the Empire it is probable that a certain amount of legal business took place on buildings around the main public square, some in the open space itself. In that connection it is now worth considering another monument, which, like the wandering temples discussed above, was moved to the square in the age of Augustus.

3.15 The Altar of "Zeus Agoraios" at Athens

Opposite the Metroon on the west side of the Athenian agora, a splendid marble altar has been excavated, which has been dated stylistically to the fourth century BC (Figures 37 and 42).[510] Like the Temple of Ares this structure carries Roman period mason's marks, which show that it was moved to its present location from somewhere else.[511] Homer Thompson believed that he

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508 See 2.1.

509 See section 4.7.

510 Stillwell 1933, 147; Burden 1999, 149.

511 Camp 1986, 186; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 160–162. Thompson 1950b, 98; Thompson 1952b, 93. Cf Burden 1999, 153–154 for arguments that the transfer must have been earlier. Burden finds the quality of workmanship in reassembling the altar is too shoddy to be associated with the other Augustan rebuilding projects and prefers to date the movement to the second century BC when the Pnyx went out of use. This interpretation would have its attractions if we wanted to adopt the standard scholarly line that Athenian politics retained something of its vitality into the Hellenistic period but lost it in the Roman one. However it completely ignores the pottery evidence that was originally used to date the

FIGURE 42 *The Altar of "Zeus Agoraios" on the Athenian agora*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

had found the original location of the altar in a set of cuttings on the Pnyx, which are said to be of exactly the right size.[512] That being the case the altar has been identified as that of Zeus Agoraios. The supposed transfer of the altar from the Pnyx to the agora has been offered as an explanation for a scholiast's comment on Aristophanes' *Knights* to the effect that the cult of Zeus Agoraios at Athens was located in both the Pnyx and the agora.[513] The epithet "agoraios" when applied to Zeus relates to the use of the word "agora" to describe political assemblies and refers to Zeus' role in presiding over political meetings and legal hearings—a most suitable god for the Pnyx.[514] The identification of this altar

reconstruction and which clearly pointed to a first century BC/first century AD date—Thompson 1968. Cf Romano 1996 for an inventive though implausible argument that this was not the altar of Zeus Agoraios at all but the Altar of Athena Polias. I have already mentioned the altar in connection with the itinerant temples in section 3.10.

512 Thompson and Scranton 1943, 299ff. and esp. p. 300 n. 38.

513 Wycherley 1957, *380*.

514 Martin 1951, 327–328 on the cult of Zeus Agoraios.

is not completely certain but it has generally been accepted.[515] By now it will come as no surprise to hear that the transfer of this altar has been interpreted as symptomatic of a decline in mass participation in politics. Shear points out that it cannot have been a coincidence that the altar was transferred at the same time that Augustus curtailed the powers of the ekklesia.[516] He thus implies that the removal of the altar from the Pnyx was meant to symbolise the suppression of the democracy. Susan Alcock has, once again, concurred with Shear's interpretation.[517] There are, however, several important objections to this line of thinking.

In the first place, as we have seen, the Pnyx was by this time no longer in use as a political meeting place because the ekklesia had been transferred to the theatre.[518] Surely if the Romans had wanted to neutralise a cult which they saw as having unwelcome democratic associations they would have done better to leave the altar where it was rather than move it to a prominent location in the centre of the city. Furthermore, if moving the altar was intended to symbolise the curtailment of the powers of the demos it seems a rather provocative gesture, which would have achieved little except possibly stirring up mass resentment. In its new location in the agora it would have been a daily reminder of oppression, only likely to exacerbate existing antagonism towards Rome. Shear and Alcock, in placing so much emphasis on where the altar was taken from, have not considered the significance of its new location. By considering this issue in more detail we can arrive at a more subtle reading of the move, one which sees the role of both the demos and the agora in the political life of the city as redefined, reduced but not obliterated.

515 Romano 1996, 81–85 as part of his wider argument that the Lykourgan Panathenaic Stadium should be located in the area of the Pnyx argues that this altar was in fact the Great Altar of Athena. Robertson has argued (1998) that the Altar of Zeus Agoraios is to be equated with the enigmatic "Altar of Pity"; Pausanias (1.17.1) states that this altar stood in the agora which, for Robertson means the old "Archaic Agora"; although he does not consider the identification of this altar directly his argument therefore is in direct conflict with Thompson's interpretation. However, I believe that there are very good reasons for thinking that Pausanias makes no reference to the "Archaic Agora" (as argued in Dickenson 2015) and if I am right Robertson's suggestion about the altar of Zeus Agoraios can also be ruled out.

516 Shear 1981, 365 n. 41 refers to Cassius Dio 60.2.1.

517 Alcock 1993, 193; Alcock 2002, 56–57.

518 See here 2.5. For the first century BC and later the main evidence for the use of the Pnyx relates to votive depositions belonging to the cult of Zeus Hypistos—see Domínguez 1996, 58–60 with bibliography.

Writing in the second century AD Aelius Aristeides describes Zeus Agoraios as presiding over his age-old sphere of influence as the god that "grants victory in the assembly and the trials".[519] That this aspect of Zeus appears first on a list of the god's other manifestations suggests that Aristeides, at least, deemed this to be one of the most important cults of Zeus in the Greek world under Rome. In Classical Athens the "assembly and the trials" had been the two main arenas in which the demos had exercised its political rights.[520] The Pnyx was where the assemblies had taken place but in Roman times they were now held in the theatre. I have argued above that the agora in the Imperial period was important as the setting for legal hearings. Moving Zeus Agoraios from a now-redundant Pnyx to the agora makes perfect sense in this light. The god was being transferred from the arena of one of his two main spheres of influence to a venue for the other.

Looking at where the altar was positioned within the agora provides further clues as to its new significance. First of all its relationship to the open space is important. Discussions of the impact of the new Augustan buildings on the square have mainly focused on the buildings themselves with a lot of consideration being given to the question of whether the Odeion or the Temple of Ares were intended to be the focal points of the square.[521] An alternative to looking at the buildings themselves is to think about how they shaped the space around them. One effect of the positioning of the Odeion and Temple of Ares was to partially enclose the southwest quarter of the square (see Figure 37). Within that area, if there was a focal point it was clearly the Altar of Zeus Agoraios, positioned centrally along the western edge. The fact that it stood at the west of this area meant that a substantial crowd could have gathered in the customary position to the east, when the sacrifices were performed. The Southwest Temple was positioned as close to the southern edge of the square as possible, probably so as not to intrude on the open space before the altar. The Altar of Zeus Agoraios was clearly no minor addition to the square but rather a major monument designed to serve an important cult, which was expected to attract a sizeable crowd to its sacrifices. The prominence of the altar is therefore in itself an argument that the activities associated with the god were an integral part of what the agora was to be used for under the Empire.

On the other hand, in the grander scheme of the square as a whole the Altar of Zeus Agoraios was clearly placed less centrally, had less space in front

519 Aelius Aristeides 43 *Regarding Zeus* 30.

520 Ober 1989 *passim*.

521 The Odeion—Shear 1981, 361–362; the temple—Burden 1999, 141–142; both—Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2008 n. 157.

of it, and was visible from less of the square than the altar of the Temple of Ares. A certain hierarchy of cult is thus suggested: the cult of Zeus Agoraios was given less emphasis than Ares, yet significantly more than most other cults on the agora, including that of the Southwest Temple, which was possibly connected with the imperial cult.[522] Although the Temple of Ares has most often been connected with Rome or the imperial family it is quite feasible that the temple was also, at some level at least, connected in the minds of the contemporary Athenians with the Council of the Areopagos (Hill of Ares), which rose to power and prominence in the city in this period.[523] Similarly the Altar of Zeus Agoraios, coming from the Pnyx, must most likely have carried with it democratic associations. The spatial hierarchy of the two altars therefore coincides rather neatly with the hierarchy expressed in decrees and official communications from this period, where the Areopagos appears first, then the boule and then the demos.[524]

The relationship between the altar and other buildings in the square suggests further connections. In the first place it stood directly opposite, and was aligned almost centrally, with the Hellenistic Metroon, the city's records office, to the rear of which was the bouleuterion. These two buildings, together with the nearby Tholos were still the heart of administration in Roman Athens. Considering the political nature of the cult, the altar's proximity to these buildings seems to suggest some connection between it and the running of the city. Plutarch refers to the cult of "Zeus Boulaios and Agoraios and Polieus" at Athens, a possible reference to a connection between the council house and the altar that has not previously been picked up on.[525] Testimonia for the cult of Zeus Agoraios for earlier periods is patchy but there is nothing to suggest that it was connected with Zeus Boulaios before the Roman period.[526] It is therefore possible that it was when the altar was moved that the two cults became conflated. The close proximity of the altar to the council house might have been intended to imply a shift in power away from the demos and towards the local magistrates and councillors.

522 See section 3.8.

523 Geagan 1967, 32–61.

524 Geagan 1967, 32 (with references).

525 Plutarch *Old men in public* affairs. *Moralia* 789d = Wycherley 1957, *384*.

526 The evidence is collected in Wycherley 1957, *379–386*. The only other evidence that Wycherley presents for Zeus Boulaios is Pausanias' statement that he saw a wooden statue of Zeus Boulaios in the bouleuterion (1.3.5 = Wycherley 1957, *402*). This at least confirms that in Roman times the cult of Zeus Boulaios was centred on the council house.

Its proximity to another monument, however, seems to have underlined the original democratic associations of the cult. The altar took its orientation, not from the Metroon, but from the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes.[527] The Monument of the Eponymous Heroes was topped with statues of the—originally ten but by this time twelve—mythical (and royal) heroes after which the Athenian tribes were named. The tribes were the fundamental division of the citizen body through which political rights were exercised. By representing these heroes together the monument, in effect, represented the demos as a whole. It is easy to see the connection with the cult that had once played an important role on the occasions when the demos came together for political action. At the same time, the monument also had a practical function in both the political and legal business of the city. In Classical times it is attested that new laws had been displayed as well as—and this is probably more significant here—the names of citizens involved in legal disputes.[528] The fence around the monument had been repaired after the Sullan attack.[529] Presumably the monument was therefore still being used in the same way in Roman times and was therefore still connected to the business of the courts. Again, it is easy to see a symbolic connection to Zeus Agoraios, the god of good judgement. Positioning the altar so near to the Monument of the Eponymous heroes seems to underline the role of the demos in coming together on the agora to witness justice being done.

Plutarch provides us, in his *Moralia*, with yet one more perspective from which to understand the altar and the significance of its standing in the agora. Late in life he wrote a letter to a friend at Athens, the equally aged Euphanes, advising him on the role that it was suitable for the elderly to take in public affairs.[530] Euphanes was, at the time, the priest of Zeus Boulaios, Agoraios

527 It is less than half a degree off being parallel with the monument as opposed to around 4.5 degrees off parallel with the front of the Metroon.

528 See Wycherley 1957, ***229–245*** and esp. ***421***, (Aristophanes *Peace* 1183–1184) ***235***, (Demosthenes 20 (*Leptines*), 94) and ***238*** (Demosthenes 24 (*Timokrates*), 18). See also Hansen 1991, 106 who emphasises how this must have made the monument a hub of activity under the Classical democracy.

529 For the repair of the peribolos see Shear Jr. 1970, 176–180 and 201. The fence was also extended to surround the statue of Hadrian, the last addition to the monument—Shear Jr. 1970, 181 and 202–203. Note that, at this time, at least the eastern side of the fence was rebuilt in marble.

530 Plutarch *Old men in public affairs, Moralia* 792 F and 794 A. Simon Swain has identified this man as Flavius Euphanes known from an inscription from Delos to have been Eponymous Archon at Athens—*Inscr. Délos* 2536—Swain 1991, 321.

and Polieus. Plutarch finds this a most suitable way for an old man to serve his community and encourages him to continue in this capacity. We can imagine Plutarch's friend performing sacrifices at the altar and thus catch a glimpse of how public ritual on the agora provided a means for him to define his place in the social order of Roman Athens. Plutarch's letter contains an additional telling detail about Euphanes' background. He mentions that his friend was also simultaneously holding the chairmanship (epistasia) of the Council of the Areopagos.[531] Although this term is not attested elsewhere, Simon Swain has argued that this is a casual reference to the position of Herald of the Areopagos, a position of some importance within what was effectively the governing body of the city.[532] The contrast between the democratic connotations of the cult and Euphanes' position at the very pinnacle of the social pyramid in the oligarchic society that Roman Athens had become is striking. If I am indeed right about the nature of the cult, perhaps it was precisely because of its democratic associations that the elite reserved this priesthood for one of their most distinguished members.

The transfer of the Altar of Zeus Agoraios from the Pnyx to the agora eludes any single explanation. For the contemporary Athenians the move must have been read in a multiplicity of ways, depending on individual perspective. For the entire community the transfer was possibly seen as an act of piety and respect for a venerable old cult; for a member of the boule, as a sign of the continued importance of the city council and of the part of the agora where the administration of the city was centred; for a member of the Areopagos a symbol of that body's rise in power and status; for Euphanes' predecessor as priest, as an opportunity to exhibit his value to the community through performing the sacred rites on the very public stage of the agora. None of these interpretations is mutually exclusive and no doubt other readings are also possible. The move thus emerges as the result of complex shifts and realignments of power within the city in which various groups and individuals are implicated. To explain the move solely as expressing the suppression of the demos is thus simplistic and wholly inadequate. On the contrary, for the majority of the citizen body, outside the ranks of the local elite, it seems more likely that the transfer said something about the intention to use the agora for the types of activities where the auspices of Zeus Agoraios were required—legal hearings or political

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531 Plutarch *Old men in public affairs, Moralia* 794 B.

532 Swain 1991, 320–321. Swain is arguing against the view expressed by Geagan (1967, 58–59) that the term is merely an acknowledgement of the man's prestige within the council. On the importance of the Herald of the Areopagos and what we know of his function see Geagan 1967, 57–60.

assemblies. The altar's presence on the agora thus underlined the fact that the demos still had a role in local government, however reduced its power may have been. This interpretation connects with my argument that there is no good reason to think that the Athenian bema went out of use under the Empire. It is also consistent with evidence for the widespread use of agoras as the venues for trials and gatherings at that time, and with the example that Rome herself set for how public business was to be conducted in the eastern provinces.

3.16 Enclosure and Tidying Up

One of the changes to the built environment of the Greek city most often associated with the Roman period is the enclosure by stoas and the accompanying isolation from the surrounding street pattern. I have already argued that at the Roman colonies of Corinth and Philippi, full enclosure of the forums was something that only occurred fairly late in their history and was achieved gradually. At cities everywhere there was much variation in the speed at which enclosure occurred and the extent to which it was taken. I have already mentioned that a new agora was laid out at Thessalonikē in the first century AD.[533] In its final form it was closed on its western, southern and eastern sides by a continuous colonnade, closely resembling the forum of Philippi. The building has been dated to the second century but it is possible that the agora was conceived as an enclosed space from its creation in the first century. At the opposite end of the spectrum, in the second century AD Pausanias was still able to describe the agora at Elis as being laid out according to the old fashion whereby the stoas were not connected.[534] The fairly open plan that his words suggest has been confirmed by the excavations.[535] Generally speaking however in the first century most agoras certainly tended towards a more regular, built up appearance than in the preceding Hellenistic period.

As in the Hellenistic period the building used to frame the open space of the agora was typically the stoa. Whatever the "bent stoa" at Thasos was used for, it served to frame the agora, bringing the southeast side of the square into line with the rows of columns on the other three sides and thus creating a more uniform effect. It didn't bring about the closure of the agora on that side

533 At 3.1.

534 Pausanias 6.24.2. On the significance that modern scholars have read into these words see Dickenson Forthcoming-b.

535 Tritsch 1932; Heiden 2006.

because that edge had long since been lined by the rear wall of a row of shops; its returning wing did, however, close the gap that had been left between that building and the southwest stoa.[536] At Athens, in the age of Augustus, a new building with an Ionic columnar façade was erected in the northeast of the agora, just to the west of the northeast shops.[537] The remains of the building are not impressive and have yielded no information about its function or full dimensions. This part of the agora is poorly understood because this is where the Athens–Piraeus railway cuts through the site. Most likely the agora had always been closed on this side, if not at precisely this point then further back, perhaps by another row of shops, like the Classical Northeast Shops, which stood slightly further east. The new building, however, certainly gave this part of the square a more monumental appearance.

At Mantineia, the benefactions of Euphrosynos and his wife Epigone, already mentioned, included a peristyle that the text explicitly refers to as embellishing the agora (see Figure 43).[538] Fougères thought that this must be a reference to the eastern stoa of the agora.[539] F.E. Winter has pointed out that it would be rather odd to refer to a single stoa as a peristyle and suggests that the building might have had returning wings that have not survived and which would have qualified it for the description.[540] In any case no other buildings of suitable shape and date have been found on the excavation of the agora. Fougères had also connected several other buildings mentioned in the inscription with remains that he excavated on the agora, including the "*baitē*", which he took to be the stoa on the north side.[541] Winter has argued that the inscription gives no reason to assume that any of the buildings apart from the "peristyle" were erected on the agora.[542] He does, however, seem to accept the Roman date of the north stoa.[543] From the late 1st century BC there is also evidence for new stoas on the agoras of Kalindoia in Macedonia (possibly on the

536 Marc 2001, 505–509.

537 Shear Jr. 1971, 260 ff.; Burden 1999, 138–142. Theodosia Stephanidou-Tiveriou (2008, 27) places this building in the category of "building programs … undertaken by the Imperial house" but there is no evidence that it was a benefaction.

538 IG V, 2 268 l. 51–52. "ὧν ἡ καλλονὴ καὶ τὸ λεῖπον ἔ(τ)ι τῆς ἀγορᾶς κεκόσμηκε". On their benefactions see also here 3.6, 3.10 and 3.16.

539 Fougères 1898, 183–184.

540 Winter 1987, 243.

541 Fougères 1898, 182–183.

542 Winter 1987, 242.

543 He states that it was logical that Fougères connected "obviously Roman buildings" with those mentioned in the inscription—Winter 1987, 243.

agora and enlarged in the 1st century AD to include a bouleuterion) and at the site of Stratoni (possibly ancient Stratonikē) in eastern Chalkidiki (although note my reservations that this was the "agora" of the city in view of its small size).[544] This suggests that even some of the smallest poleis in Greece witnessed programmes of urban renewal at this time.

At Argos, though as we have seen there are problems of interpretation as to whether the excavated area is actually equivalent to the entire agora, the poorly understood Building K on the north side of the space was dismantled, all except for its façade, and replaced by an imposing new stoa respecting its orientation; the architectural definition of the space on that side was thus made more impressive.[545] A "Royal Stoa" was also built in the time of Augustus in the southwest part of the agora of Thera. Its main entrance was on the east. It was supported by an internal Doric colonnade and contained statues of Caesar's family in the north part.[546] The front aisle of the stoa projected forward at its western end to connect with the southwest stoa, thus fully enclosing the agora around three sides. Towards the end of the first century AD, we know from an inscription that Domitian is known to have renovated a stoa at Megalopolis but it has yet to be identified archaeologically.[547]

There is also evidence for attention being paid to entrances and the way that agoras were approached. At Thasos the northeast stoa was modified in the early Imperial period by the construction of an arch that led to the so-called Passage of the Theoroi.[548] A propylon was constructed behind the returning wing of the "bent stoa" to connect the agora and the macellum to the west.[549] Next to the propylon the absidal hall where the statue of Hadrian was found was built at around the same time.[550] At Athens stoas were also erected in the first century AD lining the approach to the agora along the Panathenaic Way

544 For Kalindoia see Evangelidis 2014, 338, citing Sismanidis 2006 and Trakosopoulou and Papastathis 2011, 239 ff. and Evangelidis 2008, 139. The so-called "Roman Agora" of Stratoni measures a mere 21 × 13 m. I would not be surprised if the actual agora of the city had yet to be discovered. See here p. 7.

545 Piérart and Touchais 1996, 76; Pariente 1989, 710; Pariente 1990, 856.

546 Coulton 1976, 290, quoting Hiller von Gaertringen 1899, 217–234.

547 There was once some speculation that Domitian's benefaction might have been a repair of the Stoa of Philip, which I have already discussed at 1.4; Gardner and Schultz concluded that was unlikely because the latest work on that building was clearly Hellenistic—Gardner and Schultz 1892, 104. The recent excavations have not altered that picture.

548 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 69; Blondé, Bonnias et al. 1995, 690–693.

549 Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 72; Blondé, Bonnias et al. 1995, 693–696.

550 See here 3.10.

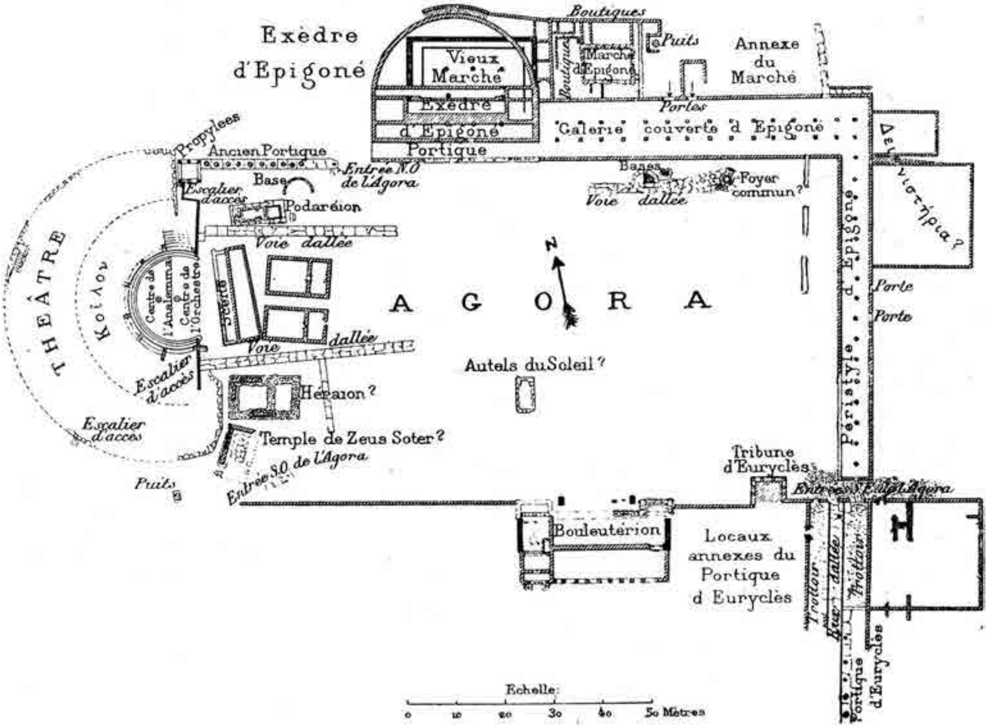

FIGURE 43 *The agora of Mantineia*
FIG. 44 IN FOUGÈRES 1898

to the northwest.[551] Whatever else was achieved through the erection of stoas and gateways, they certainly gave agoras and forums a grander appearance.

Another sight that became much more common in the Roman period was the paved surface. Paving is ubiquitous in cities of the modern world and it is hard to imagine urban space without it. In Rome the Forum had been paved very early in the city's history in around 600 BC.[552] In Greece, however, pavements were a rare sight in public spaces in Archaic to Hellenistic times. Even floors within buildings were often, at best, made of compacted mud; for outdoor spaces paving was practically unknown and where paving was used it typ-

551 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 108 ff. One of the stoas was excavated by the American School—Shear 1937, 338–339, Shear Jr. 1971, 260 ff., Shear Jr. 1973a, 370 ff.; the other has been partially excavated by the Greek archaeological service—see Thompson and Wycherley ibid. n. 130 for references to the excavation reports.

552 Coarelli 2007, 44.

ically consisted of primitive cobbles rather than smooth level slabs.[553] Under the Empire paving seems to have retained something of its Roman associations. It was certainly introduced into the public spaces of Greek cities but was always more extensively used at the Roman colonies. Even there, however, it appeared gradually and seems always to have been seen as something of a finishing touch. By the end of the first century AD the forum of Corinth had been paved with marble. This paving has been dated to what the excavators have termed the "marble period" at Corinth when several public monuments—such as the arch over the Lechaion Road and Temple E—were rebuilt in marble following an earthquake in 79 AD.[554] In the late first century AD a road in the vicinity of the theatre was also paved although this was some distance removed from the forum. It is interesting to mention that an inscription has survived which gives us the name of the benefactor who paid for the slab, an aedile by the name of Erastus, who by pleasant coincidence is probably the same man who is known to have been an associate of St Paul.[555]

The forum of Butrint appears to have been paved much earlier, probably in the Augustan period.[556] At Thasos the southern part of the agora, which had always been kept free of monuments, was paved in the Imperial period although whether this happened in the first or second century AD is unclear.[557] In the course of the first century AD certain older buildings were provided with their first paved floors as we have already seen: e.g. the Parascenic Building at Thasos, the Tholos and Stoa of Zeus at Athens. A paved terrace was also created around the Temple of Ares at Athens.[558] Although the main reason for laying down paving was probably aesthetic it is important to recognise that it also brought practical advantages. A mud floor would become soggy if it rained, especially if a lot of traffic passed over it, whereas a paved floor obviously would not. Limestone or marble slabs would also have been considerably easier to sweep or scrub clean.

Just how superficial this new concern for splendour could be can be appreciated by thinking about some old Athenian buildings that were not spruced up

553 E.g. parts of the central area of Corinth alongside the new racetrack were paved with cobbles in the Hellenistic period—Williams and Russell 1981, 11 ff.; Morgan 1937, 550–551; Scranton 1951, 74–75; Winter 1963, 279 ff.

554 Weinberg and Weinberg 1946, 74–75; Williams 1982, 179 n. 18 refers to evidence gained in excavations in 1980 which point tentatively to a Flavian date for the paving.

555 Broneer 1951, 94; *Acts of the Apostles* 19.22; *Letter to the Romans* 16.23.

556 Hernandez and Çondi 2008, 284.

557 Marc 1996, 110.

558 McAllister 1959, 3.

at this time. The South Square was allowed to remain in the run-down state it had been reduced to by the Sullan assault: South Stoa II and the Southwest Fountain House were completely ruined and would never be repaired; the Aiakeion and the East Building were also in a bad state of repair.[559] This complex, which I have argued was originally built to house the courts, was during the first century AD used by metal workers.[560] Neither the ruined buildings nor the furnaces, however, would have been visible from the main square of the agora. Standing amidst splendid new buildings and shielded from the South Square by the Middle Stoa, which still defined the southern edge of the main agora and now served as the backdrop to the Odeion of Agrippa, visitors would have been unaware—and Athenians would have been able to forget—the scene of dilapidation and heavy industry that was but a short walk away.

3.17 Conclusions

In this chapter I have discussed both the agoras of old Greek poleis and the forums of new Roman colonies. I have looked at both type of settlement for two reasons. The first reason is that if we are going to say anything about possible Roman influence on the way that agoras developed—the chief focus of previous scholarship on the subject—it is useful to think about how the Romans actually planned public space in their own cities. The colonies were, after all, the Roman cities that the Greeks would have come most often in contact with. The second reason for looking at old poleis and colonies side by side is that, whatever the initial differences between the two types of city, as the first century AD progressed the distinction became increasingly blurred as Greeks and Romans interacted to produce a new Graeco-Roman culture. It is certainly possible to see parallels in the transformations of the central public spaces of both types of city in this period.

For the first century of the Imperial period the only colony for which we have really good evidence for urban development is Corinth. I have therefore given the evidence from that site considerable weight, while including evidence from the other colonies where possible. Corinth was, as the probable capital of the province of Achaia, an exceptional city. However, its exceptional status makes it more, not less, appropriate to take Corinth as the benchmark for

559 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 71.

560 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 71. Thompson 1960, 359–363; Mattusch 1977, 341 and 376.

Roman urban planning in Greece. At Corinth the colonists are likely to have come closer than elsewhere to achieving their ideal urban form. Looking at the development of the forum of Corinth has been instructive in at least one key respect; it undermines the received wisdom that the enclosure of Greek agoras under the Empire was the direct result of Roman influence and symptomatic of civic decline. We have seen that the forum at Corinth only became completely enclosed fairly late in its history at the end of a lengthy process. Although the evidence is less conclusive a similar development seems to have occurred at Philippi. The same thing had already been happening at Greek agoras for centuries.

At both Roman and Greek cities a key development in this period was the increasing specialisation of different areas of public space. We have seen that steps to segregate commerce and politics began as early as the late Classical or early Hellenistic period. However, it was only now that specialised market buildings began to spring up, typically taking the form of fully enclosed buildings with a central open court. Here I have paid considerable attention to the Roman Agora at Athens. It is worth reiterating the argument I made in Chapter Two that it was not the creation of the Roman Agora that brought about the separation of political and commercial space. It is rather more likely that the new building merely provided a grander setting, and a more tightly controlled environment for a food market that had long existed at the same location. I have argued that the name "Roman Agora" is slightly misleading because it reinforces the idea of a transfer of function and is unattested in the ancient sources. I have, however, considered whether it is likely that the Roman Athenians would have thought of this building as an agora. I have concluded on the basis of an accumulation of circumstantial evidence, and consideration of parallels elsewhere, that they probably did. I have suggested that a previously unnoticed passage in Philostratus might refer to the building as the "grain agora". I have also put the Roman Agora at Athens into its broader context by considering market buildings elsewhere in the Greek world.

Another striking development in this period is the proliferation of odeia and theatre-like buildings on or near agoras. Here, again, Athens provided the springboard for my discussion. Previous scholars have made much of the way that the colossal Odeion of Agrippa took up an enormous amount of open space in the centre of the Athenian agora and have pointed to this as a symptom of civic decline. I have argued that this loss of space was not typical of the period, as has sometimes been implied. It was, however, typical for such cultural amenities to be created in the civic centre of Greek cities at this time. Seen in the broader context it therefore looks less surprising that Athens, the leading cultural centre of Achaia, if not the Greek world, also received a new

odeion at this time. The issue of cultural buildings led to a slight digression to consider the issue of whether the area that has been excavated as the "agora" at Argos actually was the agora. If the area was the agora it is anomalous in terms of the high degree of provision of cultural amenities—in particular facilities for athletics—found there. It is thus a real possibility that this area represents but a part of the agora or even an area that was, by this time, outside of the main agora. Although the issue cannot be resolved without expanding the excavations into adjacent areas, consideration of the problem is instructive in that it demonstrates how incomplete our understanding is of just what the ancient concept of the "agora" could encompass. Whatever interpretation is favoured for the site at Argos, the evidence there also clearly fits the tendency toward the separation and segregation of different areas of public space that we see elsewhere.

Looking at a map of the Corinthian forum, it is immediately striking how many temples there were and how large several of them were. If we are looking for Roman influence in the way that agoras changed in this period then one area we might expect to find it would be the amount of space given over to religion. There is indeed evidence for new temples on agoras in this period and also for transformations of old ones. Many of these transformations had to do with incorporating the new imperial cult into the sacred landscape of the city. This is not saying anything new but it is an important phenomenon that cannot be ignored. One small area where I have argued something new is with my suggestion that the new Temple of Aphrodite Ourania—a Roman style podium temple—should also be interpreted as being connected with the imperial cult.

I have also considered evidence for buildings for politics and administration, amongst the oldest functions of the Greek agora. I have argued that at Corinth the colonists were able to make do with fairly modest premises for government in the early days of the settlement and gradually expanded on them throughout the course of the first century. It is, however, clear enough that one of the primary functions of the forum there was to serve as a political centre. This calls into question the implicit assumption that lies behind much modern scholarship that a Roman influence drove political activity out of the old Greek agora. Looking at Greek agoras there is little evidence for new political buildings in this period. There is, however, good evidence for the maintenance and renovation of older political structures, which shows that agoras did indeed continue to fulfil their age-old role in the life of the polis into the early Imperial period. The issue of politics led us to the question of the use of the open space of the agora itself and gave us cause to return to the question of the Athenian Odeion and the supposed infilling of the square by that building. I argued that

the amount of open space lost to the Odeion has been grossly exaggerated, and challenged the widely accepted interpretation that the bema must have gone out of use following the Odeion's construction. By drawing on contemporary literary evidence I have made the case that there are very good reasons for thinking that the bema would have continued in use under the Empire and that one of the main functions of a civic agora at this time was actually to serve as the venue for legal hearings and public business.

In the final section of this chapter I looked at various steps that were taken to monumentalise agoras. One of the most striking changes is an even greater use than previously of colonnades and stoas to define the space. Various explanations could be put forward for this phenomenon including increased economic prosperity or the emergence of a new Graeco-Roman urban style to reflect the acceptance of Empire. The idea that enclosure can be equated with political decline is, however, an explanation that is both simplistic and inadequate. Once again, looking at Corinth demonstrates that enclosure was not necessarily a defining feature, or a priority, of Roman public space. The enclosure of public spaces did not proceed at a uniform pace throughout the Greek world. Neither was it everywhere taken to the same extent. Whatever else the new colonnades achieved we should not forget that they contributed to the image of agoras and forums, so that many of them now looked far more splendid than the public squares of centuries past. In a sense they can be seen as a kind of finishing touch and for that reason I have discussed them here in connection with the laying down of stone paving, which first became popular in this period. In the second century AD these tendencies toward monumentality and grandeur were, in some cities at least, taken a stage further, as the Empire experienced a real golden age under Hadrian and the Antonines and Greece entered what some scholars have seen as a renaissance of culture.

CHAPTER 4

The High Imperial Period. 97 AD–267 AD

4.1 Introduction to the Period

The dates I chose to begin the three previous chapters—323 BC (the death of Alexander), 197 BC (Battle of Kynoskephalai), 31 BC (Battle of Actium)—can each be thought of as ushering in a new historical era. It might therefore seem slightly odd that I have chosen 97 AD as the start date for the period covered by this chapter. In that year the Emperor Nerva died and power passed to his chosen successor Trajan. The transition was a smooth one by any standards and life all over the Empire carried on much as it had before. This might not seem a particularly momentous event in the history of Greece so the choice of date probably requires some justification.

As stated in the Introduction, the dates chosen to bracket all of my chapters are to a large extent arbitrary—they conveniently produce four chapters that cover periods of roughly equal length—each around a century and a half. It is, furthermore, one of the central arguments of this book that the transformation of the agora did not match neatly to particular political events but rather proceeded at an uneven pace over a period of several centuries. Nonetheless it should be clear enough from the discussion in the previous three chapters that the development of the agora certainly was affected by the currents of historical change. The rise of the Hellenistic monarchs, the coming of Rome and the transformation of Rome from Republic to Empire all created a new cultural and political climate and affected life in the Greek polis and life on its main public spaces. The periods are therefore real enough. The cultural and political climate in the second century AD Greece was very different from how it had been in the first; the difference is arguably far greater than between what I have called the early and late Hellenistic periods, or between the late Hellenistic period and the early Empire.

Ever since Gibbon, the second century AD has been seen as the high point of the Roman Empire, a period of stability, peace and economic prosperity, a "Golden Age".[1] For the Greeks the period meant greater integration into the

1 For a succinct, and fairly recent, discussion of the second century as a "Golden Age" see Koester 1995, 304ff. For Gibbon this was not only the high point of the Roman Empire but of human civilisation; he famously wrote: "If a man were called to fix the period in

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Roman circles, at least for the elite, and a revival of culture, which historians refer to as the Second Sophistic. Although these developments reached their peak under Hadrian and the Antonines it was under Trajan that they began. His ascension to the purple was, therefore, very much a turning point in Greek history.

At its heart, as a cultural movement, the Second Sophistic centred on the rise of public declamation as an art form, a form of mass entertainment, and a mark of elite education or *paideia*.[2] Our best source for the movement is Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, from whom the term "Second Sophistic" has been taken. Although Philostratus' "Second Sophistic" actually began in the late Classical period, the revival of the Greek art of declamation on which his mass biography focuses really started with a certain Niketes of Smyrna in the reign of Nero and seems to have reached its high point in the mid second century AD when most of his subjects lived.[3] No written work by Niketes survives but we do have an abundance of writing by two other men who might stake a claim to being precursors of the second century sophists—Dio of Prusa and Plutarch. Philostratus might state that he did not think of Dio as a sophist as such but he discusses him briefly as the teacher of men who were;[4] though Plutarch is rarely thought of as a sophist he was a trained and accomplished rhetorician known

the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus"—Gibbon 1996 [1776], 73. de Ste. Croix (1981, 470) says of this passage that he "can think of no statement by an ancient historian about the Roman world that has been quoted more often"; he characteristically puts the statement into perspective by arguing that the Golden Age was largely confined to the upper classes and that by no means everybody had it so good. A wide range of evidence continues to support the idea of the 2nd century as the high point of the Empire's prosperity as argued by Jongman 2007—"Gibbon was right" as the title of the paper has it. The best, and most up to date, overview of the history of the Greek East in this period must be Levick 2000.

2 Scholarly literature on the Second Sophistic has been growing apace in recent years. For good overviews see Whitmarsh 2005, Borg 2004 and Anderson 1993.

3 The term "Second Sophistic" (ἡ δευτέρα σοφιστική) was coined by Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* Preface. 481. He uses the term to refer to a new type of declamation first seen in fourth century Athens. In modern scholarship, however, the term is generally used to refer to the period that is the main subject of Philostratus' book—the late first to early third century AD—Bowie, E.L. "Second Sophistic". *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*. Ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Leiden, Brill, 2005. For Philostratus on Niketes see *Lives of the Sophists* 1.19.

4 Philostratus on Dio—*Lives of the Sophists* 1.487.

to have given public speeches in both his home community and abroad.[5] Both men had friends in high places at Rome and combined a literary with a political career. The difference between men such as Dio and Plutarch and the later sophists was to some extent more one of scale than of substance—they were less famous, less wealthy and slightly less well connected. Their writings and speeches were also different from their successors in that they placed more emphasis on content and less on style. However, we should not forget that later sophists, though famed for turning a declamation of the most trivial of subjects into a high art form are also known to have used their skills for serious political speeches.[6] The careers of both Dio and Plutarch peaked under Trajan.

Trajan's reign has also been recognised as a turning point in the political opportunities that were open to the Greeks. Ronald Syme pointed out long ago that under Trajan increasing numbers of Greeks were making it to the upper echelons of imperial society and taking seats in the senate.[7] The growing temptation to pursue an imperial career was clear enough to Plutarch who advised against it, arguing that Greek elites had, above all, a duty to their home community.[8] Following his own advice he dedicated his life to service in his native Chaironeia and nearby Delphi.

The cultural luminaries of the second century, who take central place in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*, are men like Polemo, Herodes Atticus and Aelius Aristeides. They were rich, highly educated and well connected not only in their own part of the Empire but often with important Romans and even the emperor himself. They owed their fame, and sometimes their fortunes, largely to their rhetorical prowess. Their displays of oratory were a very popular form of entertainment and they could command exorbitant fees as teachers.[9] Some

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5 On Plutarch's rhetorical training see Jones 1971, 14–15. On Plutarch not being a sophist—Anderson 1993, 9–10.

6 Bowie 1970, 6; Herodes Atticus, for instance, enjoyed a political career both within Athens and at the provincial and supra-provincial level—see Jennifer Tobin's lucid biography—Tobin 1997, 13–67.

7 Syme 1979, 577–579. It was also in the reign of Trajan that Greeks from Achaia first made it to the senate—Levick 2000, 612; interestingly none are known to have come from either Corinth or Patras, the two most important colonies in Greece. On Greek senators prior to Trajan's reign see Levick ibid. 610–611.

8 On Plutarch and local politics see Jones 1971, esp. 111 ff.

9 Entertainment—Bowie 1974. Anderson 1993, 8, 10, 20–21, 55, 64; Fees—Bowie ibid. Herodes Atticus' father reportedly gave Skopelian the exorbitant sum of 15 talents for teaching his son, a gift that Herodes himself then matched—Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* 1.21.521. Herodes himself also later paid Polemo 250,000 drachmas for a few days' instruction, after Polemo had rejected a lesser sum—*Lives of the Sophists* 1.25.538.

even taught members of the imperial family.[10] These were the foremost representatives of a whole class of wealthy, elite Greeks who now moved in the uppermost circles of imperial society, trading largely on their cultural background and education. At home and abroad these men were often large-scale landowners. Among the sophists Herodes Atticus' extensive estates are the most famous;[11] though his wealth was unequalled among his contemporaries there were men such as Gaius Eurykles Herculanus of Sparta who came close. For such men the way was open for political advancement to the highest levels—Herculanus was a senator and Herodes himself attained the consulship.[12] In the second century AD then, for Greek elites the opportunities for personal advancement within the Empire were far greater than in the preceding century.

In Greece itself society seems to have become increasingly stratified and hierarchical, and local politics more oligarchic.[13] However, even though the gulf between rich and poor might have widened the general standard of urban living—if measured in terms of the civic amenities available—arguably increased for everyone. As at the turn of the first century, direct imperial interest was again in part responsible. Hadrian and the Antonines were enthusiastic about Greek culture.[14] They welcomed important Greeks into the ranks of their *amici*, visited Greece and made various benefactions towards the Greeks, which included but were not exclusively restricted to, building projects. Hadrian's philhellenism is particularly well known.[15] He was generous in his gifts towards

10 Herodes Atticus, for example, tutored both Marcus Aurelius (as did Fronto) and Lucius Verus—Papalas 1981, 176–178; Tobin 1997, 30.

11 He owned estates in no less than eight different localities in Greece. See Alcock 1993, 78 n. 63 for the evidence.

12 Herculanus—Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 110–111; Levick 2000, 613; Herodes Atticus—Tobin 1997, 32; Ameling 1983a, *78–87*. Herodes' father was the first of the family to be admitted to the senate—Levick ibid. See also Ameling 1983b, ***34–36*** and Tobin 1997, 19.

13 Levick 2000, 628 ff.

14 Hadrian's philhellenism is legendary—Levick 2000, 620 ff. According to Levick (ibid., 627) Antoninus was less keen on Greek culture than his predecessor although she notes it as significant that he paid for a chair of rhetoric at Athens. Pausanias, however, is enthusiastic about Antoninus as a benefactor of the Greeks (8.42.4–6): he tells us that he paid for repairs of buildings in many cities in Asia Minor and the nearby islands following earthquakes and changed the law so that Greek provincials with Roman citizenship could pass that privilege onto their children. Marcus Aurelius paid for four chairs of philosophy and two in rhetoric at Athens, was initiated at Eleusis, and paid for extensive building work on the forecourt there—Levick ibid. On the buildings at Eleusis see also Clinton 1997.

15 See n. 14.

the Greeks and seems to have had something close to a deliberate policy to rejuvenate the Greek-speaking provinces.[16] Athens in particular benefited from his benefactions; it was made the centre of his new Panhellenion, a religious league of Greek speaking cities, and received several major new buildings from him.[17]

In this climate of economic prosperity and cultural renewal, the cities of the Greek East experienced something of a building boom in which the overriding trends were monumentality and elaborate decoration.[18] In the large cities of Asia Minor the grandiose remains that still impress visitors today largely date to this period.[19] By contrast the remains of the cities of Greece from this period have, in the past, seemed rather pitiful. The difference can partly be explained by the fact that Achaia, Epiros and Macedonia were simply not as wealthy provinces as Asia.[20] From Pausanias' descriptions it is clear that many of the smaller cities he saw were indeed in a rather sorry state. At Thelpousa the fact that the agora was now located on the outskirts of town, whereas it was once in the centre, is presented by Pausanias as evidence for how much the settlement has contracted.[21] He remarks explicitly on how the small town of Tithorea in Phokis had declined quite recently but still finds the ancient

16 At least the Greeks themselves seem to have seen it as something akin to a policy. Pausanias expresses a belief that this policy had failed in the case of Megara—1.36.3. Pausanias characteristically ascribes Megara's fate to an ancient act of religious sacrilege. Some of Hadrian's gifts to this city are described by Pausanias: he rebuilt a temple of Apollo there in marble (1.42.5) and broadened the road between Megara and Corinth (1.44.6), surely a benefaction to both cities and an attempt to improve the infrastructure of the province as a whole. In recognition of his efforts the Megarians named a tribe after him—Habicht 1998, 183. At a provincial level the Greeks showed their appreciation of Hadrian by minting coins with the title "Restitutor Achaiae" in his honour—Day 1942, 183.

17 On the Panhellenion see Spawforth and Walker 1986; Spawforth and Walker 1985; Jones 1996; Levick 2000, 623 ff. That Athens' economic fortunes had indeed increased as a result of Hadrian's favour was something that at least some Greeks recognised in Antonine times—e.g. Pausanias 1.21.1 says that Athens had suffered under Sulla and been revived under Hadrian. For a consideration of the buildings that Hadrian erected at Athens see Boatwright 2000, Ch. 7; Boatwright 1983; For a broader discussion of the ways that Hadrian benefited the city see Day 1942, 183 ff.

18 Thomas 2007.

19 In some parts of the Empire like Galatia this building work has been suggested as a deliberate renewal of the old Augustan ideology—Whittaker 1997, 158; Mitchell 1987, 362–363.

20 See here n 14.

21 Pausanias 8.25.1. On Thelpousa see also here 3.8.

agora of interest.[22] He also comments on the decline of the once great city of Megalopolis, as Strabo had done more than a century before.[23] However, this rather dismal picture is challenged to some extent by recent excavations at sites such as Messene and Dion, which have yielded remains of magnificent public architecture that can compete favourably with some of the cities of Asia Minor. We should also not forget that even Sparta at this time, according to Pausanias, had a rather splendid urban centre, even if archaeological excavation has thus far failed to reveal it.[24] It therefore seems that the larger cities of Greece were actually doing rather well at this time and could rival their counterparts in Asia Minor.

In cities that did experience a building boom the development of the urban environment at this time, and of agoras in particular, was in tune with the broader cultural tendencies of the Second Sophistic. Oratory at this time was greatly concerned with show and appearance and this translated into a pre-occupation with appearance and decoration in the public buildings of the Greek poleis. Colonnades, marble veneers, pavements all proliferated. Image was now just as important as function, something that is reflected perfectly in a new building type that appeared at this time—the *nymphaeum*. These public fountains were far grander in terms of their architectural embellishment than any that had previously been found on agoras. There was also much construction of new buildings that accommodated the cultural activities that were so central to the Second Sophistic such as concert halls, gymnasia and libraries. Though the first two had been popular previously they all now increased in number and became increasingly monumental. The Second Sophistic is also often characterised as a rather backward looking movement. Orators performed speeches written by the old masters of Classical Athens and exercised themselves by performing speeches that could have been performed in various situations in the Classical past.[25] Against this background individuals and cities alike began to define themselves by forging connections with the past. Local elites traced their descent from illustrious ancestors and cities revelled in their connection with historical or mythological figures and the role

22 Pausanias 10.32.10. On what is known of this polis, also known by the name Neon—Oulhen 2004, *187*. It had a long history and is mentioned by Herodotus. The town has been located and some walls are still visible although there is some debate as to which period they belong to.

23 Pausanias 8.33.1–2; Strabo 8.8.1.

24 Pausanias 3.11.2.

25 On the types of speeches performed by sophists in this period see Anderson 1993, *passim*.

they had played in important episodes in Greek history.[26] This reverence for the past is also reflected in the appearance of the built environment of agoras. New buildings could make references to the Classical past through their decoration.

On the subject of the distant past, it is worth reflecting on the fact that the period dealt with in this chapter is the period when that tireless hunter of ancient monuments, Pausanias made his trip to Greece and recorded his observations in the invaluable work that modern scholars usually refer to as the *Description of Greece*. Pausanias' work has had a profound influence on modern scholarship about the ancient agora. His testimony has been drawn upon throughout this book where it provides evidence for the buildings and monuments of earlier periods. As evidence for earlier periods Pausanias must, however, be approached with caution. Indeed, all too often his work is indiscriminately scoured for information about particular sites by scholars whose main interest lies in much earlier periods than he was writing—often the Classical or even Archaic periods.[27] In reading this chapter then, it is worth bearing in mind that it is in the state in which the agoras of Greece are described here that Pausanias would have seen them. It is therefore for this period that his work is of most use. Where he does not provide information, or at least clues, as to the age of a building or monument, and where there is no independent

26 For individuals claiming descent from illustrious ancestors see Luraghi 2008a, 314 ff. examples cited by Luraghi include: (i) at Olympia a Titus Flavius Polybios dedicated two statues, one presumably of himself, the other of his famous namesake; (ii) at Mantineia a man called Podares had himself interred in the tomb on the agora that had originally been set up for an ancestor who had died fighting against Epaminondas (Pausanias 8.9.9; Fougères 1898, 190–193 for the probable remains of the monument); and (iii) the Claudii Brasidae family, prominent in Sparta in the age of the Antonines (Spawforth 1985, 224–244); (iv) a Polykrates of Sikyon who claimed descent from Aratos (Plutarch *Life of Aratos* 1.1 and 54.3) examples not discussed by Luraghi include a woman from Athens who dedicated a monument on the agora and claimed descent from Perikles—Camp 1986, 196, Agora Inscriptions I. 7483; and Herodes Atticus who was said to be of the lineage of Miltiades and Kimon—Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* 2.546. Tobin 1997, 13 points out that he also counted legendary heroes such as Herakles and Theseus among his ancestors, referring to IG XIV 1389 l. 30–33; for other examples see Bowie 1974. Luraghi (ibid., 317 notes 90–92) has interesting things to say about the phenomenon. He suggests, for instance, that Greek elites may have acquired the habit of attaching such importance to ancestry from the Romans.

27 Susan Alcock has argued that Pausanias should be used more often as a source for the period in which he was writing and that relying on him for earlier periods is often inappropriate—Alcock 1995. See also Dickenson 2015, 2016 and Forthcoming-b.

evidence, all we can be sure of is that the structure was standing there in the mid second century AD.

Although the "golden age" is typically thought to have ended with Marcus Aurelius' death, recently it has been argued that stability and prosperity continued in Greece throughout the reign of Commodus and even into the time of the Severan dynasty.[28] There is, however little evidence for new monumental architecture on the agoras of Greece after the reign of Marcus except for the two small temples on the western terrace of the forum of Corinth which have been dated to the reign of Commodus and which perhaps housed cults of Herakles, a god with which that emperor closely identified himself, and of Poseidon. The forum of Dion has been dated to the Severan period though what exactly was built then and what the space had been like in earlier times is, at present, unclear from the few published reports.[29] By the second half of the third century, however, Greece had certainly become caught up in the major problems that shook the Empire as a whole. In 267 AD a people from the Black Sea area, known as the Herulians, found their way into Greece and wrought destruction on several poleis there. Very little is known of this tribe; a few literary sources attest to their having attacked Corinth, Athens, and Argos.[30] At Corinth both the raid and the extent of the damage are controversial issues.[31] At Athens and Argos, however, archaeological evidence has confirmed that it took place. At Athens, in particular, the attack had far-reaching consequences for the city's history. After the sack a new wall was erected, which greatly reduced the size of the city, and placed the old agora outside its circumference.[32] At Argos old buildings, such as the fifth century BC Hypostyle Hall, were rebuilt to serve radically different needs, suggesting a dramatic rupture with the past.[33] Although

28 Levick 2000, 633.

29 Pandermalis (2003, 417) dated the forum to the Severan age on the basis of finds and architectural style (ευρήματα και τα κατασκευαστικά χαρακτηριστικά). He does not however describe what the agora looked like. Neither is it clear how this space relates to the supposed Hellenistic agora of the city (see here 1.3), which would seem to be in the same location though it has not been published.

30 See Frantz, Thompson et al. 1988, 1–5; a more up to date and rather thorough assessment can be found in Brown 2008, 76 ff. Both provide thorough references to the medieval literary sources.

31 E.g. Kent (1966, 17–18) suggests the Herulian attack as a (partial) explanation for the scarcity of inscriptions found at Corinth; Cf Scranton 1951, 3 who argues that the Herulians had little impact at Corinth. For a recent discussion of the evidence see Brown 2008, 80 ff.

32 Camp 1986, 197–198; Camp 2001, 223 ff.; Frantz, Thompson et al. 1988; Thompson 1959.

33 See Piérart and Touchais 1996, 83 ff.

the poleis of Greece continued to exist after the mid third century AD, I have therefore chosen to take the Herulian raid as the event to mark the lower limit of my overview of the architectural development of the agora in this chapter, and indeed of this book as a whole. It should, however, be noted that the currently available archaeological evidence for changes to the built environment trails off significantly after Marcus. To some extent this probably reflects the fact that the building boom had ended. However, it is possible that the phenomenon is partly to be explained by the lack of interest that scholars have shown this period and that the archaeological evidence might increase if research agendas were to change.

As in Chapters One and Three the approach here will again be a loosely thematic one although certain cities, where there is particularly good evidence, will feature more prominently than others. I shall begin by taking up the issue discussed at the end of Chapter Three: the overall coordination of the agora plan and, especially the increasing enclosure of the agora by stoas and colonnades (4.2). We have seen that the enclosure and differentiation of areas of public space within the polis began at some cities early in the Hellenistic period and became increasingly common in the early Imperial period. It is, however, in the High Imperial period that these tendencies were pushed to their ultimate conclusion. Many areas of public space within the city now became clearly demarcated and lined with colonnades: gymnasia, bathhouses and even the streets that carried the city's traffic and connected the other disparate elements together.[34] More than for earlier periods the development of the agora under the High Empire must therefore be seen as part of more general trends toward the monumentalisation of civic centres and the compartmentalisation of spheres of public life into clearly defined architectural environments. In section 4.3 I will challenge an interpretation, first asserted in agora scholarship of the first half of the twentieth century but one that has had a long-lasting influence, that the complete enclosure of the agora must be seen as a symptom of its decline as a public space. The vitality of agoras cannot be "read" in the reconstructed plans of excavated sites but can only be assessed by looking at what these squares were actually used for, as I shall argue in the concluding sections of this chapter.

The monumentalisation of the agora must above all be seen as reflecting a changing urban aesthetic and, if anything, enclosure probably contributed to a

34 On the overall image of cities at this time see MacDonald 1986. The cities of Greece are largely absent from MacDonald's survey, presumably because the evidence preserved from other parts of the Empire is so superior. On this period as the high point of architectural monumentality see Thomas 2007.

heightened sense of place in being on the agora. As such it is important to consider enclosure in connection with various other means by which the agora was made to look more grand, the subject of the next two sections which discuss paving and architectural sculpture (4.4) and, the grandest and most splendid new public fountains that proliferated in this time and which are generally referred to as "nymphaea" (4.5). Unlike their forerunners of earlier periods these new buildings were lavished with sculptural and architectural embellishments and as such can be read as a clear statement of the increased importance of outward appearance. These buildings lead us to the most important question that needs to be addressed in this chapter: whether this concern for image was in some way detrimental to the functioning of the agora as a public space. For nymphaea themselves we must remember that, however grand their appearance, they were still places where people could gather water and, as such, their location on the agora is suggestive in that it implies the presence of crowds of thirsty people.

While the specialised function of some areas of public space—baths, gymnasia, market buildings—seems clear enough the increasing fragmentation of public life under the High Empire raises the vitally important question of what agoras—and particularly so-called "civic agoras" in this period were actually used for. The fact that so much of public life was now focused on other settings, coupled with an unwillingness to consider the possibility of meaningful political activity on the agora, has led to the widely held vision that the agora lost most of its importance in this period, becoming a museum-like space for the representation of power and reverence of the past. In keeping with the spirit of the times the agora often became home to what I term "cultural buildings", the subject addressed in the next section (4.6). Libraries and lecture halls, through which the elite of the Second Sophistic were able to indulge their interests and show off their learning, were to be found either on or near several agoras at this time and certainly helped make these squares lively hubs of activity as opposed to spaces for the passive viewing of monuments. To fully address the question of the supposed decline of the agora it is, however, essential to consider the two main functions that had been associated with the agora in earlier periods—politics and commerce.

In the final section (4.7) I shall explore the evidence for new political buildings and the renovation of old ones at his time and will argue that the agora remained important as the heart of administration and government in this period. I shall also consider the issue of the politics and commerce being divided between separate squares and will argue that there are few indications that this division was ever absolute. Smaller cities continued to have multipurpose agoras and even at larger cities with multiple agoras lowly trades probably

continued to take place in the vicinity of government buildings. Although the appearance of the agora had been transformed radically across the five centuries surveyed in this book the quintessential character of the agora as a public space had remained far closer to its origins than has generally been supposed.

4.2 Enclosing Space, Controlling Entrance and Increasing Monumentality

At certain sites the degree of control and coordination of the overall plan of the agora was certainly taken a stage further in the second century AD than in earlier periods. At the Roman colony of Philippi and the old Hellenistic city of Thessalonikē new forums were built in this period, according to remarkably similar plans, which were both fully enclosed by colonnades and only accessible at certain highly controlled points (see Figure 45).[35] In their layout the two squares are so alike that there has been some speculation that they might have been designed by the same architect.[36] Although outside the geographic area that is our focus it is worth noting that Sève has also pointed out that the roughly contemporary rebuilding of the agora of Smyrna also presents several parallels to these two sites.[37] Although few results of the excavations of the forum of the Roman colony at Dion have been published a plan of the site has appeared which shows that it too was a fully enclosed peristyle complex.[38] It is useful to begin this section by discussing Philippi and Thessalonikē because it is there that the enclosure of public space was most complete. I shall then widen my focus to look at how other agoras of Greece became increasingly delimited by buildings.

In the second half of the second century AD the forum of Philippi was given a major overhaul and reconstructed as part of a unified, and visually impressive,

35 Sève 2005 points to the similarities between the two sites. For Philippi see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2003 fig on pp. 40–41. For Thessalonikē see Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 14.

36 Velenis 1990–1995, Evangelidis 2014, 340.

37 Michel Sève makes an explicit comparison between the agora at Smyrna and the forum of Philippi—Sève 2005. On the architecture of the agora of Smyrna see now Cavalier 2012a. The agoras of Thessalonikē and Smyrna share a feature that is missing at Philippi, an underground portico, a so-called cryptoporticus, beneath a stoa on the edge. At Thessalonikē the cryptoporticus was only along the south side and at Smyrna along two sides of the square.

38 Evangelidis 2014, Fig. 7—a reproduction of Christodoulou 2000, 178, Fig. 1.

architectural project (see Figure 44).[39] The earlier division into two terraces was maintained. The upper terrace remained a purely religious space. The vestiges of three Corinthian frontons and the foundations of a small podium temple with stairs on the façade have been found there.[40] It is possible that there may have been more buildings on the terrace because a significant amount of open space remains unexplored.[41] The two terraces remained divided by an east-west oriented road. As part of the second century rebuilding two lockable entrances were placed at either end of the road, thus making it possible to close the forum in its entirety off from the rest of the city.[42] From this central road two staircases led down into the lower terrace, or forum proper. It is clear from this arrangement that wheeled traffic was not possible; only pedestrians would have been able to access the main square from this direction. I shall return to the question of the significance of these means of controlling access at the end of this section.

The lower terrace served as the forum proper and took up the width of four insulae in the city's grid plan. It was here that most of the 2nd century AD building work took place. In what must have been a truly ambitious construction project, all earlier buildings on the terrace were razed to the ground and replaced with new buildings. The new design consisted of a central paved courtyard surrounded by an inverted pi-shaped stoa in the Corinthian order, open on the northern side.[43] Behind these stoas were various rooms and buildings associated with politics and administration, which I shall return to below. Paul Collart, the original excavator of the forum, inferred from the symmetry of the complex that it must have been planned as a unified whole.[44] A dedicatory inscription belonging to the so-called Curia has allowed the project to be dated. The inscription refers to the Divine Antoninus. Interpreted as being Antoninus Pius, the building has thus been dated to the generation after his death in 161 AD, and to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[45] Stratigraphic data has provided independent support for this date.[46]

39 A good impression of the grandeur of the complex is provided by the photograph of the reconstruction model in Sève 1996b, 124.

40 Sève 1996b, 123. Sève and Weber 2012a, 33–38.

41 Later rebuilding here has made it difficult to ascertain more precisely the situation in Roman times—Sève 1996b, 123–125.

42 Sève 1996b, 128.

43 Collart 1937, 329 ff.; Sève 1996b, 125, Sève and Weber 2012a, 17–22.

44 Collart 1937, 341.

45 Collart 1937, 342. Also significant is that the term "divina domus" appears in the inscription and that the East Temple opposite the curia was dedicated by a "curator of the Res Public" (ibid., 343). Both the term and the office are only attested in the 2nd century AD.

46 Sève 1996a, 707. Sève 1996b, 123.

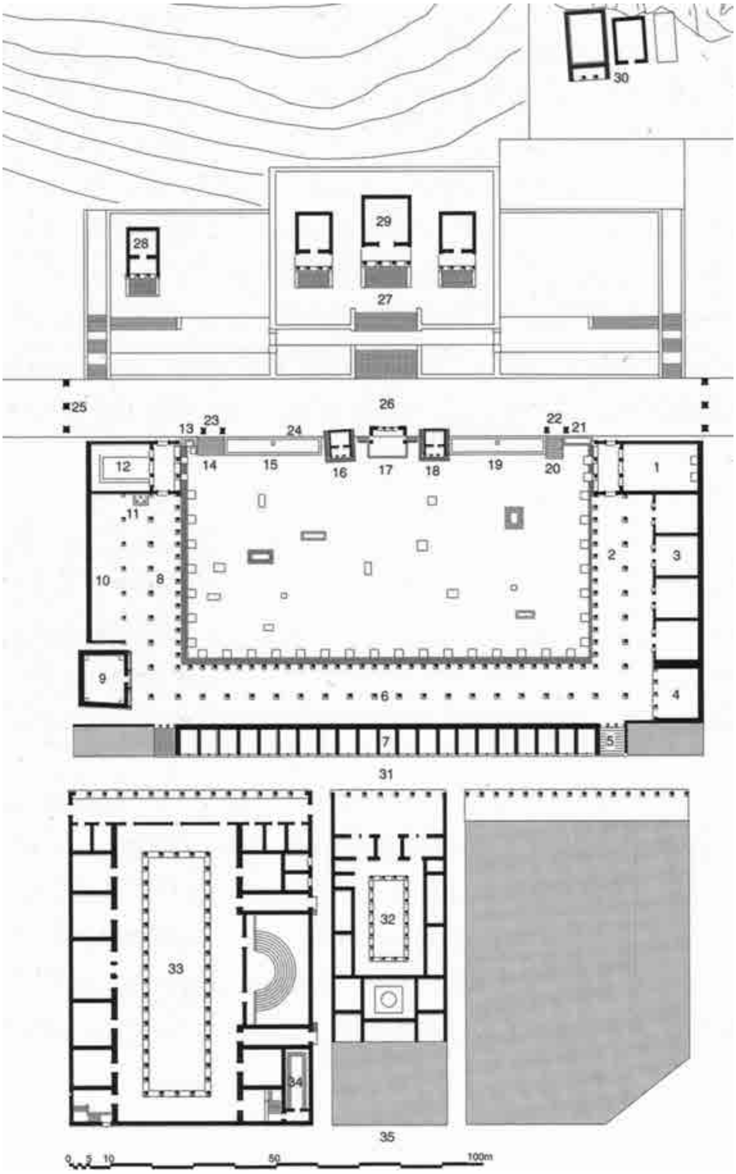

FIGURE 44 *The forum and surrounding area at Philippi (from Sève 1996) (1. Temple of Emperor and the Genius of the Colony, 2, 6, & 8. Stoas, 3. Building of unidentified function, Library, 5, 14, & 20. Access stairs, 7. Shops, 9. Tabularium, 10. Basilica, 11. Statue of the Fortune of the Colony, 12. Curia, 13. Monumental bench, 15, & 19. Fountains, 16, & 18. Temples, 17. Rostra, 21. Base of priestesses of Livia, 22, 23, & 25. Monumental arches, 24. Grand supporting wall, 26. Via Egnatia, 27. Upper terrace, 28. Podium building, 29. Temples, 30. Sanctuaries, 31. Road, 32. Market, 33. Palaestra, 34. Latrine, 35. Road).*
IMAGE COURTESY OF M. SÈVE AND P. WEBER

It is clear that the entire complex was constructed on the same location as the original forum of the colony but because the Antonine building project brought about the near total destruction of whatever monuments and buildings had stood there previously it is, unfortunately, difficult to be sure just how different the new complex was from the one that had preceded it. Collart's excavations in the 1930s were extensive but did not completely clear the forum area and left many questions, particularly relating to the early history of the complex and the relation between the two phases, unresolved. Over the last few decades Michel Sève has studied the forum in detail and substantially deepened our understanding of the site. In particular, Sève's excavations along the eastern side of the square have revealed that, prior to the construction work of the 160s the forum had extended further in that direction which means that the new forum—assuming its location had not simply been shifted westwards—was probably slightly smaller than its predecessor.[47]

The basic situation is very similar to that at Thessalonikē (see Figure 45). There the new agora followed precisely the same arrangement as that seen at Philippi, except that at Philippi the stoa had one storey, at Thessalonikē two.[48] The remodelling of Thessalonikē's agora has been dated mainly on the basis of its similarity to that of Philippi to the mid second century AD. There has been speculation that the project should be linked to Hadrian's scheme to reinvigorate the culture and economy of Greece but there is no evidence that the building was an imperial benefaction.[49] The odeion behind the eastern wing was an integral part of the total plan yet it was only completed at the end of the second century AD.[50] It is therefore clear that even if the end result was the result of a coherent, unified plan, the execution of that plan was achieved gradually. At Thessalonikē, as at Philippi, it is also unclear how the size of the new square compared to the pre-Antonine phase although here too some contraction of the square seems likely.[51]

The excavators at Thessalonikē have claimed that the northern orientation of the stoa (i.e. it was situated along the southern edge of the square and open

47 Sève 1985.

48 Adam-Veleni 2003, 148.

49 Cf. Adam-Veleni 2003, 147: [the project was] "undoubtedly associated [...] with the admiration felt by Hadrian and his successors for the achievements of the Greek spirit".

50 Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 18. Kalavria and Boli 2001.

51 Adam-Veleni 2003, 147. Adam-Veleni (2001) points out that the exact size of the agora for the first century AD is unknown but speculates that it was smaller than in the second century; this observation can be found in the English summary in the same volume on p. 324.

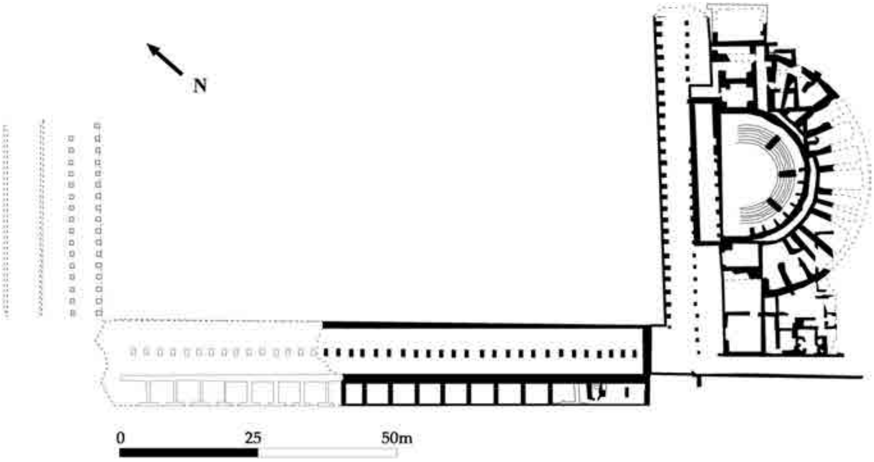

FIGURE 45 *The 2nd century* AD *agora of Thessalonikē—schematic plan of excavated remains on the east and south sides and hypothetical reconstruction of the west end*

to the north) made the best advantage of cooling winds.[52] This seems unlikely to have been the reason for its location. As we have seen, the favoured position of stoas had always been along the northern edges of open spaces, precisely to protect against the same northern winds, which could in wintertime be cold rather than cool. The arrangement at Philippi and Thessalonikē therefore represents the exact opposite of what had been normal practice in Greek town planning for hundreds of years. It is therefore more likely that some other concern dictated the position of the stoas at these two cities—possibly a desire to take best possible advantage of the natural contours of the site—and that they were therefore so positioned in spite of, not because of, the natural elements.

Both complexes exhibit the principles of symmetry and axiality that modern scholars sometimes associate with Roman architectural planning.[53] At Philippi a desire for symmetry is seen most clearly in the two temple-like buildings in mirror position on the northern ends of the eastern and western sides.[54] At Thessalonikē, with the exception of the eastern side with its odeion, far less is known of the buildings of the forum beyond the main stoas making it difficult to be sure if its resemblance to the square at Philippi went as far as the various buildings and monuments that lined that square. At Thessalonikē the northern edge of the square remains unknown. At Philippi even the arrangement of the

52 Adam-Veleni 2003, 148.

53 See Yegül 1991.

54 The eastern temple—Sève and Weber 2012a, 39–43 with excellent reconstruction drawings of the façade.

more minor monuments and buildings that backed onto the terrace wall, which supported the east–west road and defined the northern edge of the open space, was almost perfectly symmetrical. On the outer sides stood two long fountains and then the two stairs, which gave access to the road above. Both entrances were spanned by monumental arches. The western ramp was the wider of the two, the eastern one made narrower to accommodate a pre-existing statue base for priestesses of the cult of Livia. The base supported statues of at least five, possibly seven, statues of priestesses of the cult.[55] The monument is of interest both because it attests to the existence of a cult to the first empress long after her own lifetime, and because it represents a survival from the pre-Antonine phase of the forum into the period after the building work of that period.

In the centre of the northern side of the forum of Philippi was a bema or rostrum flanked by two small Corinthian temples again in mirror position.[56] The speaker's platform presumably replaced the predecessor that we have seen mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.[57] It is worth noting that the position of the platform was very different to that at Corinth. At the latter city, as we have seen, the so-called "rostra" would have been in the direct line of sight of anybody entering the forum through the main entrance in the northeast of the square. At Philippi the bema would have only been visible once someone had descended via one of the two staircases to the square below. Nevertheless the bema was clearly the focal point of the square, positioned in the centre of its long northern side. The bulk of the city and the mountain behind it would have served as an impressive backdrop. The actual remains of the platform are rather poorly preserved so that it is impossible to say anything about its superstructure.[58] An intriguing feature of the platform discovered during excavation were a series of holes in the pavement of the forum around its base. These have been interpreted as having supported a grill or fence, presumably to protect the speaker on the platform. This hypothesis—and it is hard to think of another interpretation—provides a tantalising clue as to the nature of public meetings on the forum. At least some of the time it seems orators found themselves facing a hostile or even violent crowd.

Along the exterior of its southern side the forum at Philippi was flanked by a row of 21 rooms opening onto a road. Above the shops was a long south facing gallery that shared a roof with the forum's southern stoa but which could

55 Sève and Weber 2012a, 76–77.

56 On the rostrum see Collart 1937, 332; Sève 1996a, 715. On the buildings to either side of it—Collart 1937, 332–333; Sève 2003, 110, Sève and Weber 2012a, 67–77.

57 *Acts of the Apostles* 17. See here 3.14.

58 Sève 1996a, 715; Collart 1937, 332.

only be accessed from the outermost of the rooms on either end which served as stairwells; the remainder of the rooms have been interpreted as shops.[59] At Thessalonikē too the forum had a row of shops facing outwards along its southern edge.[60] There as at Philippi the ground to the south was lower than the surface of the square itself and must have dropped away more abruptly so that the stoa itself needed to be raised up to the level of the square. The southern stoa was therefore equipped with a cryptoporticus, a hidden basement at the level of the shops. This must have been a costly construction project, which is thought to explain why it had to be built in two phases, something that is suggested from the adoption of different foot standards for the eastern and western parts.[61] The row of shops appears to have been planned from the beginning but was only actually built in the second phase of the construction.[62] The use of a cryptoporticus to support one side of a forum built on otherwise sloping ground is attested to from the early Roman period in other parts of the Empire, especially in the west.[63] A building with a cryptoporticus that resembles that at Thessalonikē has been discovered at Patras which probably supported a stoa lining the northern edge of the forum.[64] The vaulted ceilings of these buildings relied on Roman concrete and as such were a new feature of the Imperial period. It is, however, worth noting that underground basements had been incorporated into agora stoas in the Hellenistic period with the same purpose of creating terraces on sloping ground, at several cities in Asia Minor,[65] at Orchomenos in Arcadia and in the Stoa of Attalos at Athens, although there the building ran perpendicular to the slope rather than parallel to it.

Unlike at Philippi nothing can be said about accessibility to the forum of Thessalonikē to traffic from the north but the central open space certainly seems to have been more tightly controlled there, than at Philippi. On the southern side two staircases led up from the lower area to the south, at the east from the front of the shops, at the west from the cryptoporticus, but once a visitor had got that far entrance into the central open space was only possible at certain points between the columns of the colonnade. The gaps between

59 Sève and Weber 2012a, 55–56; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Bakirtzis 2003, 42.

60 Adam-Veleni 2003, 151.

61 Adam-Veleni 2003, 150.

62 Adam-Veleni 2003, 151; Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 14.

63 E.g. in Spain—MacMullen 2000, 60.

64 Rizakis 2010a, 147 and Petropoulos 2009, 60–61.

65 See Cavalier 2012b who suggests plausibly that these basements were used for grain storage. See also, in the same volume, Arslan and Eren 2012, who considers the agora of Assos, which has a three storey stoa that is also discussed by Cavalier, in more detail.

most of the columns were closed with the insertion of marble slabs. A space for a doorframe was identified between one of the stoa's intercolumniations.[66] At Philippi there were no screens between the columns of the forum and in the south-east corner a ramp connected the square to the east–west street below it to the south.

At the same period that these new agoras were constructed, steps towards increased enclosure were also being taken at several older agoras in Greece. Towards the end of the second century AD the old Pi-shaped Stoa on the southern side of the agora of Argos (assuming the excavated square is the agora)[67] was extended to the west to meet up with the Hypostyle Hall.[68] At the same time the intercolumniations of the porch of that building were blocked with some kind of grill, a development reminiscent of the barriers between the columns at Thessalonikē. The elongated stoa was thus transformed into a corridor of approach to the Hypostyle Hall and entrance to that building was strictly limited to a few places.[69] Our archaeological knowledge of the other two sides of the agora of Argos are too slight to be able to say whether or not this was part of a larger project aimed at enclosing the agora at this time. They have, however, certainly been interpreted as an attempt to bring the layout of the agora of Argos into line with the enclosure achieved elsewhere.[70]

J.J. Coulton has pointed out that while freestanding stoas continued to be built in Imperial times they became less important as other types of portico, such as colonnaded streets, peristyle complexes and stoa/basilicas became more common.[71] However, as late as the second century AD new stoas were still being erected and older ones restored and renovated on the agoras of Greece in order to bring about more enclosure and definition of the public square.[72] At Mantineia the so-called "loggia of Eurykles" was erected by Gaius Eurykles Herculanus of Sparta post 130 AD along the southern edge of the agora.[73] The

66 Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 8.

67 On the problem of the nature of the excavated square see here 3.9.

68 Various modifications to the other entrances to the Hypostyle Hall have also been detected. These have proven impossible to date but it is possible they may have been associated with the extension of the stoa by which the two buildings became connected—Bommelaer and des Courtils 1994, 22 and 49.

69 Bommelaer and des Courtils 1994, 51.

70 Piérart and Touchais 1996, 83.

71 Coulton 1976, 167 ff.

72 Cf Marc 2001, 510, who claims that no new free-standing stoas were erected on agoras in this period. On the significance of this assumption for his interpretation of the agora of Thasos see 2.9.

73 Fougères 1898, 184; On Gaius Eurykles Herculanus see also here 4.1.

building further enclosed the space that had already been defined along the northern and eastern edges by stoas earlier in the Roman period. There has been some speculation that the so-called "Roman Stoa" that has been excavated at Sparta might have lined one side of the agora there.[74] "The Royal Stoa" on the agora at Thera was also repaired by a certain T. Flavius Kleitosthenes in 149 AD, as attested to by an inscription.[75] At Naxos there seems to have been extensive remodelling of the agora through the erection of stoas in the 2nd century AD although the excavations have not been published in detail and knowledge of the plan of the site is consequently incomplete.[76]

Various building projects of Trajanic or Hadrianic dates contributed to framing the Athenian agora. The Library of Pantainos, constructed sometime around 100 AD, just to the south of the Stoa of Attalos was fronted by an Ionic stoa 35 m long.[77] The row of Ionic columns was extended further south, outside of the agora proper, along the Panathenaic Way by the erection of another stoa in the second century AD.[78] The building was constructed at two levels with stairs in the middle to follow the slope at this point. In Hadrianic times a basilica was constructed on the Athenian agora in the northeast corner.[79] I shall return to the building itself below but here it is worth noting that it was fronted by a colonnaded porch, once thought to have been a separate building, that contributed to framing the space on that side. To make way for the porch the row of shops that had stood there since the sixth century BC was finally demolished.[80] It has been suggested that one of the functions of the basilica may have been to serve as a monumental entrance to the square on that side;[81] a potential analogy here would be the South Basilica at Corinth, which has also been suggested as serving as a monumental foyer for visitors entering the Forum from that side.[82]

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74 The possibility is discussed by Waywell 1999, esp. 14. The only thing that is clear about the building's position in the topography of the Roman city is that it was linked to the theatre by a main thoroughfare—Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 128.

75 Giese and Kose 2006; IG XII 3.326.18–20.

76 Mentioned by Quéré 2011, 336 citing *Prakt* 1988, 213.

77 Shear 1940, 294–295. On the Library of Pantainos see here 4.6.

78 Thompson 1960, 344 ff., Holloway 1966.

79 Discussed later in this chapter—4.7.

80 On these shops see here 2.6.

81 The basilica certainly obstructed two roads that had for centuries allowed access to the square at this point. The suggestion that the building may therefore have served as an entrance is made in passing by Shear Jr. 1971, 264.

82 Weinberg 1960, 108.

At Athens there are other indications of an increasing concern for monumentalising the entrances to the agora at this time. In the mid second century an arch was also built, abutting on the southern edge of the Stoa of Attalos, over the road that led from the square to the Roman Agora.[83] Work was also begun on an arch to span the east-west road at the southern end of the new Southeast Stoa but wheel ruts in its foundations show that it was never completed.[84] It is striking, however, that a gate was never constructed at either of the main entrances to the agora at the northwest and southeast where the Panathenaic Way passed through the square. The agora, therefore, was never cut off from the rest of the city and could not be locked to prevent access in the way that was possible at Philippi. Cuttings in the threshold of the gate leading to the Roman Agora suggest that this entrance was fitted with lockable gates but the intention must then have been to prevent access to the road itself, perhaps at night, rather than to the agora. Such considerations are important for assessing the significance of the phenomenon of agora enclosure in this period, an issue that I shall consider below.

The gateways at Athens did not even come close to the grandeur of that constructed on the agora of Kos in the second century AD, on the north side of the square and integrated into a rebuilding of the North Stoa that separated the main agora from a fish market. From the north, the entrance was approached by an impressive staircase, some 50 m wide, and consisted of two propyla on either side of a large Corinthian temple that faced north; the rear side of the temple, which thus faced towards the main agora, incorporated a large nymphaeum.[85] This rather ostentatious building has been compared in the recent publication of the site to the agora entrance of Apamaea.[86] Although outside the area that is our focus here the timing of such projects coincides with the generally more modest attempts at monumentality seen at the cities of Greece. At the same time they demonstrate that the shared desire for monumentality certainly did not lead to uniformity. The experience of entering the agoras of Kos, Athens, Corinth or Philippi would have been strikingly different. Apart from at Athens, agora gateways are also attested at a few other cities at this time. At Mantineia Gaius Eurykles Herculanus' loggia connected to a monumental three bayed entrance.[87] A large propylon has also been discovered recently at what is thought to be the entrance to the agora

83 Shear 1935a, 328.
84 Thompson 1960, 344.
85 Rocco and Livadiotti 2011, 401–420.
86 Rocco and Livadiotti 2011, 417.
87 Fougères 1898, 267–269.

of Maroneia in Thrace.[88] Evangelidis also mentions the gateway discovered at Argos in connection with these other entrances though its late date (fourth century AD) means that it should not really be thought of as part of the same trend.[89]

On the subject of agora enclosure it is also worth considering briefly the so-called "Roman Agoras" at both Delphi and Gytheion. The first is a peristyle courtyard excavated at the entrance to the Pan-Hellenic sanctuary. In its earliest phase the building has been dated to the second/early third century AD, although the building was extensively rebuilt in late antiquity.[90] To call this complex the "Roman Agora" implies a far greater understanding of its function than is justified by the archaeological evidence. From its architectural form it is certainly possible that it was a commercial market building. Considering that the actual settlement of the polis of Delphi has evaded archaeological discovery it is difficult to say whether such a market would have been intended for the population of the city or for visitors to the sanctuary, although the location of the complex at the entrance to the sanctuary would suggest the latter interpretation.[91] However, the building's location also suggests an alternative interpretation—that it would better be thought of as a monumental forecourt along the lines of the one built at Eleusis under Hadrian or the Antonines.[92] Although it was not a peristyle building, that forecourt was lined with stoas on the northern and southern edges. With the "Roman Agora" at Delphi we are once again confronted with the problem that the modern desire to label excavated public spaces can create a misleading impression about our understanding of the function of such spaces. Whether this particular complex would have been thought of as an "agora" in antiquity is very difficult to say.

The "Roman Agora" at Gytheion, the harbour town of Sparta, presents similar problems. The building has only been partially excavated but appears to have been a fairly large (51 m by at least 61 m), fully enclosed peristyle complex. It has been dated largely by comparison of its column capitals to those of the Captives Façade and at Corinth, and by the letter type of an inscription on part of the epistyle, which dedicates an exedra to the theoi sebastoi and to the polis,

88 Kokkotaki 2003, Evangelidis 2014, 343.

89 Croissant 1970, 788–793; Evangelidis 2014, 343.

90 Bommelaer 1991, 89–92 (with plan); Weir 2004, 246 and 350. Reports on more recent excavations of this complex can be found in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.

91 On Delphi as a polis see Oulhen 2004, *177*. (p. 412 ff.); see esp. pp. 415–416 on the scant evidence for the settlement.

92 On which see Clinton 1997, 1989.

to the 2nd century AD.[93] It is worth stressing that that date must be considered tentative because of the recent down-dating of the Captives Façade by Strocka to the second half of the 1st century.[94] The most thorough publication of the building to date focuses largely on the building's architecture and pays little attention to the question of what it might have been used for.[95] The discovery of an inscribed weight and measure within the building might suggest it was a commercial market similar to the Roman Agora at Athens.[96] An alternative possibility, considered but not favoured by the excavators, is that the dedication of the exedra (as yet undiscovered but considered to have been a part of the building), might indicate that the complex was an imperial cult centre along the lines of those known elsewhere.[97] In short, once again we are faced with a building that has been identified as an "agora" even though we do not know much about what it was used for or whether its ancient users would have thought of it as such.

Even if the buildings at Delphi and Gytheion were not agoras, at the very least they remind us that the increasing architectural definition of agoras at this time was part of a wider phenomenon of framing all sorts of public spaces with stoas and colonnades.

4.3 Assessing the Impact of Enclosure

When modern scholars have considered the significance of the increasing enclosure of agoras they have tended to be fairly negative in their assessment of what it meant for the functioning of the agora. Wycherley once wrote that "when the agora became a mere building, however grand, this meant a certain disintegration of the city", a point of view with which Roland Martin fully concurred.[98] For both scholars the flow of traffic through the agora was critical for its vitality as a public space, something they saw reflected in the way some

93 Kanellopoulos and Zavvou 2014.

94 On the Captives' Façade see here 3.4. Curiously Kanellopoulos and Zavvou draw explicitly on Strocka's work in comparing the two buildings yet ignore his reconsideration of the date of the Captives Façade. They even cite him in connection with a late 2nd/early 3rd century date for that building—ibid., 369.

95 Kanellopoulos and Zavvou 2014.

96 IG V,1, 1156.

97 On this count they cite Ward–Perkins 1981, 366–367.

98 Wycherley 1962, 83. Martin 1951, 375: "c'est seulement au moment où la notion de polis s'est vidée de son contenu que l'agora devient un édifice isolé".

of the earliest agoras in the cities of mainland Greece developed organically around a confluence of roads. For Wycherley and Martin the agora had reached its most perfect form with the horseshoe type of square that appeared in Asia Minor in the late Classical period, where three sides were defined by a pi-shaped stoa with a road, lined by a stoa, running through the open space on the remaining side.[99] The arrival of the fully enclosed peristyle type, which they associated with the coming of Rome and the influence of the forum, was thus seen as the antithesis of this ideal and the reason why neither scholars extended their studies of agoras much beyond the late Hellenistic period.

The issue has not received much explicit attention since Martin and Wycherley's day but their attitude has never really been challenged. It has cast a long shadow over modern scholarship and is arguably the reason that the Roman period agora has been given such short shrift in recent overviews of the agora. Frank Kolb agreed that the emphasis on architecture seen in increasing enclosure signalled a move away from the political importance of the agora.[100] This attitude also finds echoes in the recent work of David Newsome on movement in the city of Rome. He concludes that the increasing enclosure of the Forum Romanum in the early Imperial period transformed it from a place to *go through* to a place to *go to*, which seems to imply that it lost something of its central importance to urban life.[101] For the cities that we are considering here Michael Sève sees the enclosure of the agora of Philippi in similar terms. Stressing the significance of the lockable gates at either end of the road passing between the two terraces of the forum and the staircases leading down from that road to the lower terrace he has argued that the forum should be thought of as an obstacle to be circumvented rather than a crossroads.[102]

I've argued against this interpretation elsewhere and it is sufficient to summarise my main objections here.[103] The main problem is that it is next to impossible to read the vitality of an urban space from its physical layout as revealed through archaeology. Modern urban planners know all too well that it can be very difficult to predict how human beings will actually use the architectural spaces they design.[104] We can all think of failed public spaces from our own experience—squares that are either overcrowded or, more often, too

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99 See Wycherley 1942 and Martin 1951, 392–408

100 See here p. 100 and n. 95.

101 Newsome 2011 and Newsome 2010.

102 Sève 1996b, 128: "du point du vue urbanistique, le forum du IIe siècle est un obstacle à contourner; ce n' est pas un carrefour".

103 Dickenson Forthcoming-c.

104 Low 2000, passim; Stevens 2007, passim.

empty. If modern planners cannot use the ground plans they produce to accurately predict how modern squares will be used, the problems facing archaeologists in attempting to use reconstructed plans of ancient public spaces to ask questions about activity are so much greater—not least because we lack data for fundamentally important variables, such as the population of ancient cities, and typically have only a partial understanding of the urban network and consequently of how a given square fits into that network. In assuming that enclosure must be a symptom of decline scholars like Wycherley and Martin have presented reconstructed ground plans as if they can be read as evidence for social change when they were, in fact, simply interpreting that evidence in light of preconceived attitudes toward the post-Classical city. They expected the vitality of the agora to decline in Roman times, found evidence for increasing enclosure and thus explained that enclosure as evidence for decline.

To really assess whether agoras remained vibrant public spaces in Roman times we need to look not at how easy they were to access but rather at the types of activities that took place there. Agoras in Roman times may well have become places to *go to* rather than to *pass through* but what matters are the reasons people would have had to go to the agora and whether those reasons were compelling enough to ensure that they *did* go there. After all, even in Classical times the crowds on the agora would have been made up mainly of people who had gone there with a purpose and not people casually passing through who had ended up loitering. There is no reason to think that closing off an agora with colonnades and entrances would have created such a major inconvenience as to create a compelling disincentive to stop people going there. Presently I will argue that in High Imperial times agoras remained important as centres of politics and administration and that even in cities with separate civic and commercial squares there is no reason to think that all trade was banished from the former type of square. People certainly did still have reason enough to go to the agora and enclosure was unlikely to deter them.

Agoras of cities old and new still tended to be located on main thoroughfares and would have been easy to find for visitors. William MacDonald has proposed that cities of the Roman Empire were held together by "urban armatures", chains of public spaces, which made them easy to negotiate for inhabitants and visitors, paying special attention to the important connective function fulfilled by "plazas".[105] Even as the Athenian agora became more enclosed the stoas that

105 MacDonald 1986, on urban armatures: *passim*, on plazas—51–66.

lined the Panathenaic Way as it approached the square from the northwest would have drawn traffic toward the square. Even at Philippi it is important to stress that the forum was situated on the main east-west thoroughfare of the city and the gates would surely only have been locked on certain occasions, most likely at night. The stairs would certainly have impeded access to either terrace for wheeled traffic, which probably excluded, either deliberately or perhaps as a not-unwelcome side benefit, most commercial activity from the square. However, access to the forum from the south was, as we have seen, via a ramp in the southeast corner (and possibly also in the southwest), which significantly connected the square to the so-called "rue du Commerce" that ran between the row of shops that backed onto the forum and the macellum to the south.[106] Perhaps, therefore, some commerce was allowed into the main square after all. For present purposes it is worth reflecting that the basic design of the forum at Philippi, with a pi-shaped stoa lining three sides of the square and a road passing through the remaining side, albeit it at a higher level than the square, is not so far removed from Wycherley and Martin's ideal of the "horseshoe type". Even if enclosure did cut agoras off from the rest of the city, this could also have worked to enhance the agora's sense of place, instilling in agora users a feeling that they were in a privileged public setting, clearly defined through monumental architecture.

It is furthermore worth noting that even if the general tendency in this period was towards the increasing enclosure of agoras there remained considerable variation in the extent to which cities conformed to that trend. Philippi and Thessalonikē, with agoras exhibiting perfectly the principles of enclosure, symmetry and uniformity might be thought of as standing at one end of a spectrum, with a city like Elis, whose agora drew comment from Pausanias for retaining the more disorganised organic layout that had been common in the Classical period, at the other.[107] Between these extremes a city like Athens—relatively wealthy, recipient of benefactions by philhellene emperors, and one of the most important centres of culture and education in the Greek world, certainly once Hadrian had made it the head of the Panhellenion—could afford to keep up with the latest trends by adding a few gateways and colonnades to ensure that its agora looked suitably grand. The less significant poleis of Greece were less keen or were unable to keep up with these developments and if little

106 Sève and Weber 2012a, 50.

107 Pausanias 6.24.2; discussed in the Introduction at 1.1. The archaeological evidence from the site seems to confirm the impression from Pausanias—Heiden 2006; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1998; Tritsch 1932; it is, however, regrettable that the most recent excavations of the square have not been published.

has been said about such sites in this section it is because they have produced little evidence for increasing monumentality. The result was that at the height of the Roman Empire there was still a great deal of variation between the agoras of the cities of Greece in terms of appearance and layout.

The extent to which it is appropriate to see the tendency toward the enclosure of agoras, as modern scholars often have, as symptomatic of Roman influence must also be called into question. It is unproblematic to see enclosure as an expression of Roman imperial culture, if by that we mean a fusing of Roman and Greek elements that reached a high point in a period of enduring peace and prosperity in the second century AD.[108] To read "Roman" here to mean that these developments should be understood as the result of an outside, western influence is, however, unhelpful and misleading, as the situation at Corinth makes plain. Although the Corinthian forum was, by the second century AD, decked out with all sorts of splendid marble buildings, the unity achieved in the plan as a whole did not come near what we have seen at Philippi or Thessalonikē. For J.J. Coulton the rows of colonnades and shops were not enough to think of the Corinthian forum as being completely enclosed.[109] It is worth reiterating the point I made in the previous chapter: as a Roman colony and capital of the province of Achaia, Corinth provides a good way of thinking about the priorities of Roman settlers in laying out their cities in Greece. While Romans might have had a preference for uniformity and enclosure in their public spaces neither was essential or both would have been seen at Corinth.

While the appearance and layout of Greek agoras could, and often did change dramatically in the period of Roman rule it is simplistic to interpret such changes as due to external influence coming from Rome. Many of these developments had their roots in Greek culture that can be traced back as early as the Hellenistic, or late Classical periods, as we have seen. My argument is not that there was no Roman influence at work but rather that Roman attitudes toward the organisation of public space did not supplant indigenous Greek ideas and were certainly not imposed upon the world of the poleis by the imperial power. Rather it is more useful to think of the two traditions becoming intertwined in a dialectic relationship to produce a genuinely Graeco-Roman type of city and a new urban aesthetic. And whatever else was achieved by closing off agoras through colonnades and gateways in terms of controlling the movement of people there can be little doubt that aesthetic concerns were

108 On urban culture in the Greek East under the Empire as a fusion of Greek and Roman elements see Millar 1993, Woolf 1994, Yegül 2000 and Alcock 1997.

109 Coulton 1976, 174, after Robinson 1965, 23–29.

important here. Enclosure must therefore be interpreted in the light of broader tendencies toward monumentalisation throughout the Greek speaking eastern half of the Roman Empire at this time, seen in all areas of public space in cities.[110] Other ways that these new aesthetic standards manifested themselves on the agora must now be considered.

4.4 Other Signs of Monumentality

As in the early Imperial period paving was a finishing touch though outside the colonies it is was only widely used at Athens. Even there the main agora as a whole was never paved but at some time in the second century—probably fairly late in the century—the entire surface of the Roman Agora was.[111] At around the same time a small square between the southern end of the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Pantainos in front of the new arch that led to the Roman Agora was also paved, as was the road that connected the two squares.[112] The connecting street between the agora and Roman Agora at Athens has rightly been compared to the paved "Lechaion Road" at Corinth (Figure 46).[113] It is in this period that the fashion for great colonnaded streets arose in the near east and began making inroads into the Greek world.[114] The streets at Athens and Corinth might be seen as modest versions of these grand avenues. The word that is used in the inscription dedicating the paving of the street at Athens between the old agora and the "Roman Agora" is *plateia*. In this period these plateiai were becoming public spaces in their own right, gaining in importance as places of commerce and general day-to-day interaction.[115] In

110 See here 4.1.

111 Mary Boatwright (1983, 173) has said that the paving must have been a benefaction by Hadrian but this cannot be right. The fact that his edict concerning the sale of olive oil was displayed in the building (see 3.5 for references) does not mean that he must have taken an interest in the building itself. In fact the paving, or at least some of it, must postdate Marcus Aurelius because an inscribed letter written by that emperor to the city was found on the underside of one of the slabs—Hoff 1988, 85; Oliver 1970, 2 ff.

112 The area between the stoa and the library—Thompson 1947, 203; the road or "plateia"—Shear Jr. 1973a, 144–145 and Shear Jr. 1973b, 389–390.

113 Shear Jr. 1973b, 389–390, n. 67 goes so far as to suggest it may even have been a deliberate imitation. On the Lechaion Road itself, see Fowler and Stillwell 1932, 148–158.

114 See Ball 2000, 261–272.

115 Thomas 2007, 109 points to epigraphic evidence from North Africa that shows that the word was already being used to refer to colonnaded squares in that part of the Empire in the first century AD.

FIGURE 46 *The paving of the Lechaion Road—facing the forum with the Acrocorinth in the distance*
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

late antiquity they would come to rival the agora as the most important public spaces of the city.[116] The southernmost stretch of the Panathenaic Way was also paved in the 2nd century AD (Figure 47).[117] For the same period an approximation of a colonnaded street has been recognised in the stoas that framed the southern entrance to the agora of Thera.[118] A colonnaded street has also been discovered in recent rescue excavations at Thessalonikē in the vicinity of the agora, although the precise connection to the square remains unclear.[119] Even at Elis, the city that thanks to Pausanias' description has become famous in modern scholarship for the disorganised plan of its agora in Imperial times, excavations have revealed a colonnaded street approaching the agora from the south.[120]

Another feature that can be thought of as enhancing the monumentality of agoras in this period is architectural sculpture. We have seen how in the early Imperial period colossal statues were incorporated into the so-called Captives

116 Coulton 1976, 176 ff.
117 Thompson 1960, 328 ff.
118 Evangelidis 2014, 345, citing Witschell 1997, 39.
119 Makropoulou and Tzavrani Forthcoming.
120 Evangelidis 2014. The discovery is mentioned in Andreou and Andreou 2004, 22 but hasn't been properly published.

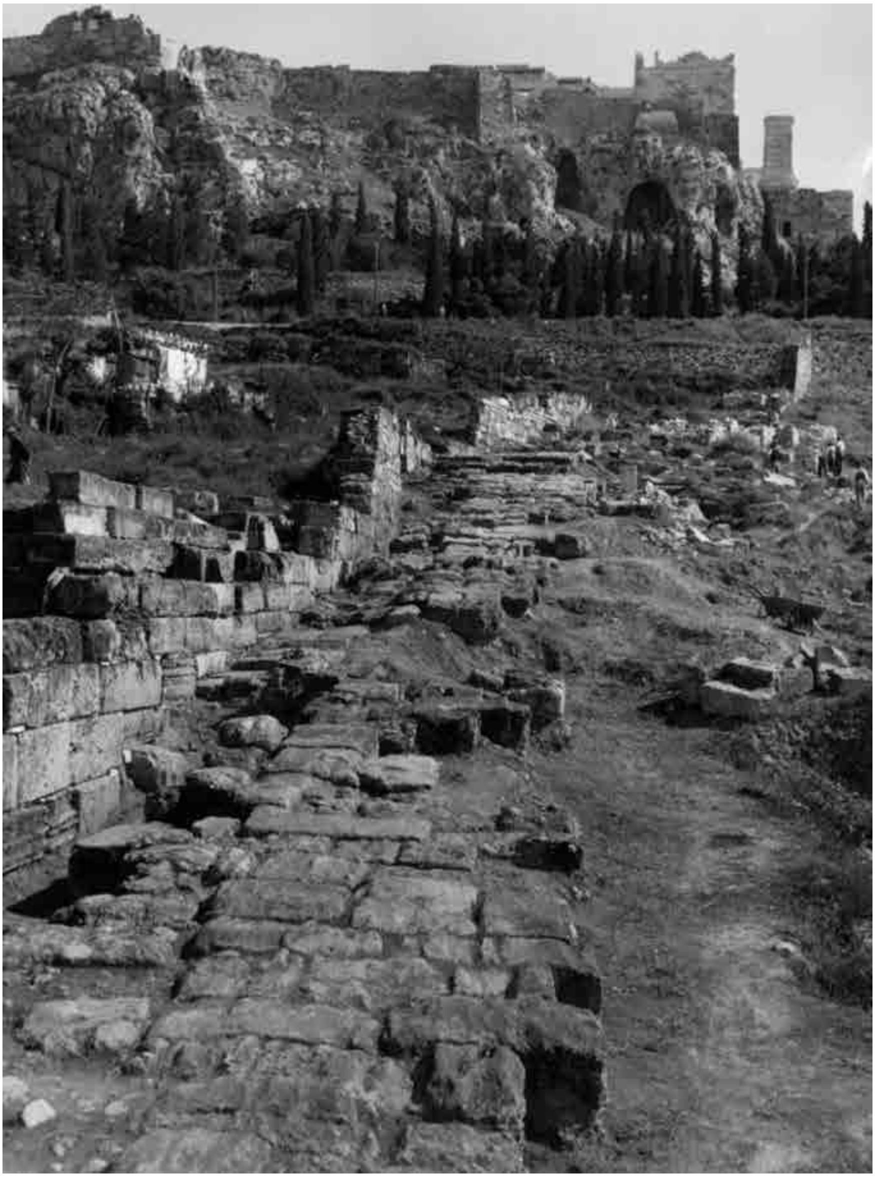

FIGURE 47 *Roman paving of the Panathenaic Way at the point where it has just left the agora to climb the Akropolis*

Façade at Corinth. In the second century AD we see something similar in the use of colossal giants and Tritons as architectural supports in the rebuilt Odeion of Agrippa at Athens (which I shall return to below), and possibly also in the barbarians that Pausanias reports seeing carved into the columns of the

so-called Persian Stoa at Sparta, and which have sometimes been supposed to be of Roman date.[121] Another potential parallel, dated stylistically to the same period, lies in the famous Incantadas from Thessalonikē, now in the Louvre; these impressive architectural sculptures must have decorated some public building in the city centre, somewhere to the south of the agora, but unfortunately the nature of the building and its precise location are unknown because the location was not recorded when they were removed in the 19th century.[122] The type of building in which the use of architectural sculpture was perhaps most extensive was the nymphaeum or grand public fountain which proliferated in the cities of the Empire in this period and which will be explored in the next section.

The increasing splendour of civic centres no doubt carried a multiplicity of meanings for the poleis' inhabitants: it was a reminder of economic stability and of the benefits of Empire and was clearly a source of local pride, as borne out by a wealth of literary evidence for intense inter-city rivalry at this time, focused on possession of urban amenities.[123] At the same time increasing monumentality surely constituted a new urban aesthetic—a feeling that this was simply what city centres ought to look like.

121 Pausanias 3.11.3. Pausanias tells us that the building had been altered over time "to its current size and decoration", leading some to conclude that the figures he saw were carved in Roman times—Schneider 1986, Spawforth 2012, 118. A problem here is that Vitruvius also refers to the building incorporating images of Persian captives (at 1.1.6) and, in comparing them to the Athenian Caryatids, describes them as part of the original Classical phase. The idea that Pausanias' Persians were not the originals and had been replaced during the rebuilding work hinges mainly on his use of the word "epi" to describe their position on the columns, which clearly runs the risk of reading too much significance into what might be no more than a misplaced preposition. If—and it is a big if—they were Roman then there is no evidence to date them more precisely. While Spawforth (ibid.) favours an Augustan date, the comparanda from elsewhere mentioned here make a 2nd century date just as, if not more, likely.

122 See Adam-Veleni 2003, 155.

123 E.g. Dio Chrysostom's speeches aimed at persuading his fellow citizens at Prusa to support his building project make several references to how it would allow them to compete in splendour with the neighbouring cities of Nikomedia, Nikaia and Caesarea—Dio Chrysostom 47.13 and 47.15. In Apuleius' *Golden Ass* (2.19) a wealthy woman at Hypata boasts of her town's urban amenities in comparison to those of other cities: "As far as I know, we far excel all other cities with our temples and baths and other edifices, and moreover we possess the necessities in abundance" (Quod sciam, templis et lavacris et ceteris operibus longe cunctas civitates antecellimus, utensilium praeterea pollemus affatim). Philostratus mentions in the *Lives of the Sophists* (1.532.14) that an "agora and a splendid array of buildings [can] reflect lustre on a city" and finally Aelius Aristeides has left us several orations in which

4.5 Nymphaea and Other Water Installations

We have seen that fountain houses were among the earliest buildings to be erected on Greek agoras. An adequate water supply was essential for any urban community to survive and public fountain houses, though by no means ubiquitous, were often to be found in ancient poleis. It made good practical sense to locate public fountains on the agora. These early buildings were usually fairly unostentatious.[124] Under the Empire water and water installations, for various reasons took on a new significance. On the one hand the craze for Roman style bathing had caught on in a big way in Greece (at least 24 Roman baths are known from Athens alone!) and tremendous quantities of water were needed for these bathing establishments.[125] At the same time the *pax Romana* had created a new potential for increasing the water supply that had simply not existed in previous periods—impressive aqueducts could be constructed to bring water into the city from great distances not only because the Romans brought the technology but also because it was now safe to construct such waterways without the fear that they would be targeted by enemies in a siege situation.[126] By the second century AD ideas were also circulating that there was a connection between a good water supply and public health. Lucian uses this as an argument in favour of the colossal nymphaeum that Herodes Atticus built at Olympia, a building that has aroused distaste in critics both ancient and modern.[127]

An abundance of water therefore came to be seen as a sign of a prosperous and thriving community well integrated into the Roman Empire. Pausanias at both Panopeus and Charadra comments disapprovingly on the lack of an abundant water supply.[128] He also describes how the small town of Pellene

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he praises the buildings of Smyrna, in each of them specifically mentioning its splendid agora—Aelius Aristeides 17 (*The Smyrnean Oration*).11; 18 (*A Monody For Smyrna*).6; 19 (*A Letter to the Emperors Concerning Smyrna*). 21. (*The Smyrnean Oration 2*). 5. See also Pont 2010, esp. 223–416.

124 See here p. 95–97.

125 On Roman baths and bathing see Fagan 1999; Yegül 1992; Nielsen 1993. On the significance of baths as symbols and symptoms of Empire see Alcock 1993, 124 ff. On the baths at Athens see Travlos 1971, 242–243.

126 Alcock 1993, 124–126.

127 Lucian *On the Passing of Peregrinus* 19.20. Lucian presents his defence in response to Peregrinus' criticism of the building. Modern critics include Walker 1987. On the building's sculptural programme see Bol 1984.

128 Charadra: Pausanias 10.33.6; Panopeus: 10.4.1.

in Achaia had taken the unusual step of constructing a tank on its agora to collect rain water, which he implies was used to fill the local bathhouse.[129] This town presumably did not have access to a major aqueduct and this innovative solution allowed the community to still enjoy something approaching modern Roman amenities.

In the High Imperial period much grander water installations became a familiar sight in the urban landscape of larger, more prosperous Greek cities. It is possible that a nymphaeum excavated in central Patras at the crossroads of two main roads might have been constructed as early as the reign of Domitian but it was in Asia Minor, in the reign of Trajan, that the craze for the monumental fountains that modern scholars call nymphaea really first took off.[130] In the 2nd century the trend spread to Greece largely under the influence of Hadrian, as Brenda Longfellow has recently demonstrated.[131] Longfellow argues persuasively that nymphaea were a favourite way for Roman emperors to bestow civic patronage upon Greek cities, possibly because they so visibly advertised the benefits of Empire, because they usually needed to be fed by large aqueducts, which because of their prohibitive cost tended to require imperial financing, and finally, because they served as an effective showcase for sculptural displays of imperial power. Herodes' fountain at Olympia was surely the grandest of the nymphaea in Greece and is also unusual in being a benefaction of a member of the provincial elite.[132]

The word "nymphaeum" is attested in antiquity and its connection to the "nymphs", or water sprites, would seem to imply a cultic significance.[133] However modern scholars tend to use the term to refer to any ornate public fountain, particularly from the Roman period without necessarily intending to imply any religious association. A fountain erected on the agora of Argos in this period, and explicitly referred to as a "nymphaion" in its dedicatory inscription, does, however, seem to have been the focus of cult. This round building was erected above a much older monument—an underground crypt—that has

129 Pausanias 7.27.4.

130 Levick 2000, 630.

131 Longfellow 2011, ch. 4.

132 Longfellow 2011, ch. 5 and Walker 1987.

133 The first appearance of the word to designate a man-made monumental fountain was in a dedicatory inscription at Soada Dionysiade, 100 km south of Damascus, dated to between 102 and 114—Longfellow 2011, 99. Longfellow states that only three other known monumental fountains (listed ibid. 100) are explicitly referred to by that term in ancient inscriptions. She overlooks the nympheion in the agora of Argos—see here main text. On the earlier use of the word to signify a grotto associated with the nymphs see Larson 2001, esp. 251.

been identified as either a place where Danaos and his daughters, the nymphs known as the Danaids, were worshipped, or as the tomb of Danaos mentioned by Pausanias and Strabo.[134] The Danaids were closely associated with marriage rituals and Marchetti has speculated that people could have made prenuptial offerings in the crypt.[135]

Another monumental fountain house was constructed in the central open space of the agora of Argos at around the same time. It was as a benefaction on the part of a local elite family, the Tiberii Iulii.[136] An inscription from Argos, found in the agora, also testifies to the value placed on provisions for the water supply and honours a local benefactor for bringing water from on high and for embellishing statues of emperors and heroes in the agora and three gymnasia.[137] Also at Argos, in the "late Roman" period the circular enclosure on the north of the square seems to have been converted into some kind of open air pool because it was given a new hydraulic plaster floor.[138] As this pool shows, water features, beyond any practical function could be purely decorative. Parallels for this pool at Argos, although on a much grander scale, can be found in the large pool (175 × 20 m) that filled most of the South Agora at Aphrodisias, or the one found in the central courtyard of the Library of Hadrian at Athens, both of which date to the same period.[139] It is worth noting that the abundance of water in Imperial Argos was achieved through the benefaction of an aqueduct to the city on the part of the Emperor Hadrian, which also fed another nymphaeum at the foot of the Larissa some way to the northeast of the agora.[140]

134 As focal point for rituals to do with marriage—Marchetti 1996, 120. As the tomb of Danaos mentioned by Strabo and Pausanias (8.6.9 and 2.20.6 respectively)—Piérart 2010, 33. The Danaids were the subject of the trilogy by Aeschylus of which only *The Suppliants* survives. According to Marchetti (1996, ibid.) the second century building precisely followed Vitruvius' recommendations for a Roman monopteros. The building has been studied in detail and published by Marchetti and Kolokotsas 1995.

135 Marchetti 1996, 120. Comparing the cultic significance of this building with the Palaimonion at Isthmia, see also Marchetti 1998.

136 Piérart and Touchais 1996, 79; Pariente, Piérart et al. 1998, 219. Piérart 2010, 35. In his recent overview of the history of the agora of Argos Donati refers to a square fountain house beneath a Roman nymphaeum that might date to the fifth century BC—Donati 2015, 187. This is the only square fountain on the agora and, to my knowledge, the excavators have said nothing about the building having a Classical predecessor on the same spot.

137 Piérart and Touchais 1996, 80.

138 Pariente 1988, 705. Marchetti and Rizakis 1995, 460.

139 Ratté 2002, 23.

140 On the aqueduct and Larissa nymphaeum see Longfellow 2011, 113–120, with references.

At Corinth the Peirene Spring was further embellished, possibly in the late first century but most likely in the early second. It received a new elaborate, two-storeyed façade and the poros courtyard was rebuilt and covered with marble revetment.[141] An inscription attests that this work was paid for by a prominent member of the local elite, incumbent of several local magistracies, and friend of Plutarch, one Antonius Sospius.[142] The old idea that the final phase of the building, in which it was dramatically remodelled with the addition of three semi-circular exedrai on the south, west and east sides of the court, and that that rebuilding work was a benefaction on the part of Herodes Atticus, has now been convincingly disproved by Betsey Robinson. She demonstrates that this phase of the building actually dates to late antiquity and that there is nothing to associate Herodes with any benefaction to do with Peirene.[143] The second century phase of Peirene was, however, still rather grand and made it a perfect setting for the display of public sculpture, as Robinson has argued.[144]

Michel Sève has studied the two fountain houses that stood, as already mentioned, on the north side of the forum of Philippi and has produced reconstruction drawings of these monuments, which show that they were "more decorative than functional".[145] A monopteros was erected in the northeast of the Athenian agora at this time, which may also have been a fountain and if so, it too was more ornamental than functional in design.[146] Also in Athens a nymphaeum has been found in the southeast corner of the agora. It is in

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141 This so-called "Marble Court" phase of Peirene is discussed by Robinson 2011, 206–231.

142 Kent 1966, ***170***. The public largess of Sospius is referred to by Plutarch at *Table Talk. Moralia* 723 A5–9.

143 See Robinson 2011, 252–284 and on disassociating Herodes from the monument esp. pp. 257–259. It was the discovery of a statue base dedicated to Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus (Meritt 1931, ***86***) within the courtyard, combined with erroneous dating of the final phase of the building that led to the interpretation that it was a benefaction on his part—Hill 1964, 93 ff. and esp. 103.

144 Robinson 2011, 215–219.

145 *Archaeological Reports* 1987–1988, 55. To my knowledge the drawings themselves have not been published. The fountains are mentioned here at 4.2.

146 The monument was excavated in 1937 and dated to the second century AD by pottery—Shear 1937, 354–356. From its architectural style Homer Thompson argued that it was probably from the Antonine period—Thompson 1952b, 102–104. William Bell Dinsmoor Jr. carried out a detailed architectural investigation of the building and concluded that the stone packing under the building might have been intended to support a water basin—Dinsmoor 1974, 425. He also suggested that the building might be associated with a water channel found in 1954 in that area, which was traced to 1.5 m short of the building (p. 426). He was not able to completely rule out the possibility that the building might instead have

such a terrible state of repair that any attempts to reconstruct it on paper are highly speculative though Longfellow has recently suggested that it might have had two storeys rather than the one that has previously been supposed (for a tentative attempt that gives the building only one storey see Figure 48).[147] It probably incorporated statues into its design and a statue of Venus Genetrix found nearby is thought to have come from the building.[148] It was fed by an aqueduct, known from an inscription to have been begun under Hadrian but finished under Antoninus Pius in 140 AD.[149] A base for an oversized statue stood at the centre of the monument in front of it. Assuming that the statue would have been of an emperor, Longfellow points out that it would have been far larger than any other statue of either Hadrian or Antoninus Pius known at Athens.

The exact date of the fountain and its symbolic significance deserve some consideration. As the first apsidal fountain in Greece, Susan Walker has argued that it bears so close a resemblance to Herodes Atticus' fountain at Olympia that both may have been built by the same architect.[150] Longfellow finds this argument convincing and suggests that Herodes may have been influenced by the Athenian fountain when later constructing his monument at Olympia.[151] For her the Hadrianic date of the aqueduct that fed the nymphaeum is incontrovertible evidence that the fountain itself was an imperial benefaction. She talks of "[Hadrian's] placement of a nymphaeum in Athens along the Panathenaic Way."[152]

She is also persuaded by Samantha Marin's idea that the area where the nymphaeum stood represents a particularly Romanised part of the agora, a sort of transitional forecourt between the old Classical square and the foot of the Akropolis.[153] It is certainly striking how the new nymphaeum was purposefully placed in front of the old southeast fountain house, which Pausanias reports seeing. In fact, Pausanias intriguingly says that the southeast fountain house—

held a statue or been a temple. Thompson (ibid., 103–104) had also speculated that it might be associated with a round altar found inside the Stoa of Attalos.

147 Camp 1986, 193. Longfellow 2011, 124–130.

148 The discovery is reported in Thompson 1953, 53–54 and restored to the nymphaeum in Thompson 1955, 58. Geoffrey Schmalz points out that this is possibly the latest known reference to the Julio-Claudian family in Athenian epigraphy—Schmalz 2000, 125.

149 Camp 1986, 193.

150 Walker 1979, 163; Longfellow 2011, 125.

151 Longfellow 2011, 136.

152 Longfellow 2011, 134.

153 Martin 2002, Longfellow 2011, 128.

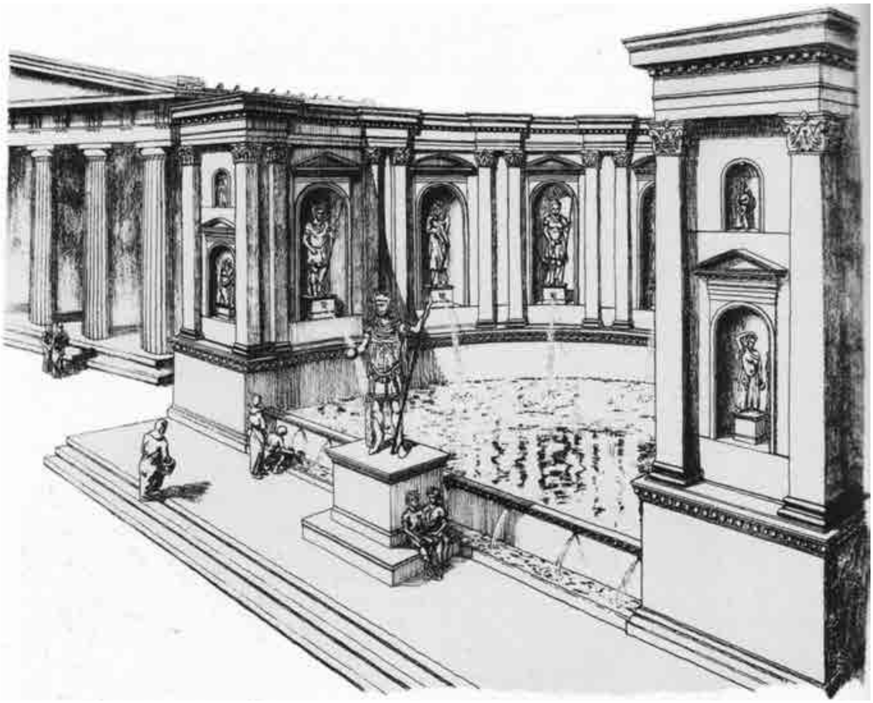

FIGURE 48 *Tentative reconstruction of the Athenian nymphaeum*
IMAGE COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, AGORA EXCAVATIONS

which he mistakenly believed to be the famous Peisistratid Enneakrounos—was the *only* fountain in the city.[154] For Longfellow this represents his editing the Roman nymphaeum out of his description.[155] I suggest that a different scenario is possible: namely that the nymphaeum post-dated both the construction of the aqueduct and Pausanias' visit to Athens and was in fact a benefaction of Herodes Atticus himself. We know that one of Herodes' other benefactions to the city, his odeion, was not finished by the time of Pausanias' first visit to Athens because the periegete himself says so in mentioning the building later in his work.[156] Might the same not have been the case for the nymphaeum? I make the suggestion tentatively, my main intention being to highlight once again the need for far greater caution in relying on a top-down model to explain

154 On the Southeast Fountainhouse see here—1.7.
155 Longfellow 2011, 129.
156 Pausanias 7.20.6.

the transformation of Greek public space. Where there is no direct evidence that a building or monument was an imperial benefaction, there is no reason to rule out that it might have been constructed as a local initiative.

On the subject of water installations it is also worth saying a few words about latrines. Public conveniences were unknown in Greece until Imperial times. We might well wonder how they had managed without them for so long.[157] Even from Roman times latrines have, up to now, only been identified at the Roman colonies and at Athens. At Corinth a small latrine was incorporated into the rebuilt South Stoa.[158] There was another one said to be of late Roman date at the northern end of the shops on the east of the Lechaion Road in front of the Peribolos of Apollo.[159] At Philippi there was a latrine in the gymnasium to the south of the forum large enough to have offered space to forty-two people.[160] Athens seems to have been particularly well blessed with public toilets. There was one behind the southern end of the Stoa of Attalos,[161] one just outside the agora to the northwest,[162] and one in the new Civic Offices that were constructed backing onto the terrace of the Middle Stoa to the west of the Odeion. The large building of Vespasianic date near the Tower of the Winds, just outside the Roman Agora's eastern entrance has also always been interpreted as a latrine, although it has recently been argued that it was actually some kind of monument.[163] It is clear enough that at Corinth, Philippi and Athens it was desirable to locate latrines in close proximity to areas of public space but they were usually tucked away behind buildings where they were fairly unobtrusive. The fact that latrines have not been found at other sites suggests that they were still something of a luxury. In one sense they could not be more different than nymphaea in that they were purely functional structures, with little or no

157 John Papadopoulos recently suggested that the countless small sherds found discarded in wells might have served as a primitive forerunner of toilet paper—"Παίζω ἢ χέζω; A contextual approach to *pessoi* (gaming pieces, counters or convenient wipes?)" as part of Lawall, Jawando et al. 2002. According to one interpretation of an inscription from Piraeus, a law actually had to be passed in the 320s BC to make the *agoranomoi* there responsible for seeing to it that people didn't defecate in the agora—Vatin 1976, 557; accepted by Garland 1987, 77. For a good discussion of literary and archaeological evidence for where people went to toilet in Classical Athens and the measures taken to deal with the potential problem of pollution—see Owens 1983.

158 Dubbed "Latrine J"—Broneer 1954, 151–152.

159 Fowler and Stillwell 1932, 156–157.

160 Sève 1996c, 93. Gymnasium at Philippi—4.6.

161 Thompson 1951, 50—said only to be of Roman date.

162 Shear Jr. 1997, 509.

163 Sourlas 2008.

ornamentation or decoration. At the same time however they were probably both seen as state of the art accoutrements of modern urban living and as signs of prosperity.

4.6 Agoras as Spaces for Culture

In previous chapters we have seen that areas for cultural activities were often found in the vicinity of the agora. Already in Classical times there was a connection with the theatre, from Hellenistic times gymnasia were often constructed within the city centre. In the second century AD, as the water supply of cities was improved by the construction of aqueducts monumental Roman-style bathhouses began to appear. In several cities including Corinth, Athens, Argos and Sikyon bathhouses were erected in the vicinity of the agora.[164] We have already seen that in the first century AD new odeia were constructed in many cities near to—and at Athens actually on—the agora. In the second century AD new odeia were erected in the vicinity of agoras and old ones repaired or renovated; a new type of cultural building, the library, also appeared for the first time in this period. If anything, cultural amenities became an even more important part of what an agora was supposed to be. It does not require too much imagination to posit a connection here with the importance attached by Greek elites at the time of the Second Sophistic to *paideia*.[165] A rather interesting development that occurred in parallel to the agora becoming a more cultural space is that other cultural spaces, such as gymnasia and bathhouses, also began to fulfil some of the political functions that had previously been the preserve of the agora. The lines between the two spaces, never rigidly defined, thus become more blurred in this period.

We have considered the profound impact that the construction of the Odeion of Agrippa had on the Athenian agora. The large auditorium had originally been roofed without any interior supports. This was a daring feat of engineering for the time and, for a century and a half, a successful one.[166] Ultimately, however, the structure proved unstable and in the mid first century AD the roof collapsed. The building was then redesigned in such a way as to eliminate the roofing problem altogether: the auditorium was reduced to approx-

164 Corinth: the Great Baths by the Lechaion Road: Biers 1985; Argos—the bathhouse to the north of the agora—Ginouves 1955, 138–141; Sikyon: the bathhouse beneath the modern museum: Lolos 2006, 145–146; Lolos and Gourley 2011, 127–128.

165 On which see the literature in n 2.

166 Camp 1986, 194.

imately half of its original size, and the rest of the area was filled in.[167] The re-roofing of the building is attested to by hundreds of stamped tiles that have been found in the vicinity.[168] At the same time the stage building was turned into a porch facing north, the entablature supported by colossal figures of Tritons and giants, three of which to this day still stand in the agora, very near their original location on the spot where they were eventually incorporated into a new building in late antiquity (one is shown in Figure 49).[169] The new porch was accessible from the north by seven flights of stairs, separated from each other and flanked by pedestals of seated figures, assumed from the fragments that have been found to be philosophers.[170] As discussed in the previous chapter, some scholars have speculated that this rebuilding signified a change in the building's function, from odeion to lecture hall.[171] I have argued there that this is reading too much significance into the words Pausanias and Philostratus use to describe the building. We can be sure, however, from Philostratus' testimony that the building was being used at the height of the Second Sophistic for performances of oratory by such luminaries as Herodes Atticus.[172] The new classicising ornamentation of the building was clearly in keeping with the antiquarian spirit of such performances. The torsos of the giants were near perfect copies of the statue of Poseidon from the west pediment of the Parthenon.[173]

167 These modifications have been dated on stylistic grounds Thompson 1950b, 126–131 and also on the basis of the stamped roof tiles of the new phase—see n. 168 below.

168 They were interpreted by the original excavators as the archons in the years that the work was carried out. It was apparently common practice in the Greek world to stamp roof tiles with the name of an eponymous magistrate—Thompson 1950b, 95–96, 99–139 and esp. 126. On the dating of buildings by stamped tiles Thompson refers to Wace's contribution to Bosanquet, Wace et al. 1905/1906, 344–350. A Dionysios—one of the names on the tiles from the Odeion—is known to have been archon in one of the years 148–150 AD—see Thompson 1950b, n. 7 for references. No archon named Diodoros is otherwise known.

169 The building has been suggested as a gymnasium, a villa or a palace of a late Roman governor—Camp 1986, 200. For a full discussion see Chapter 5 by Homer Thompson in Frantz, Thompson et al. 1988.

170 Thompson 1950b, 126. A fragmentary inscription mentioning "Epikouros" was found nearby—Camp 1986, 113.

171 See 3.7.

172 Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* 2.571.4 and 2.597.3–4 = Wycherley 1957, *522* and *523*.

173 Thompson 1950b, 119 ff. It is impossible to say whether the heads also copied the Poseidon because the head of that statue does not survive.

FIGURE 49 *The westernmost Triton from the façade of the Odeion of Agrippa as rebuilt in the 2nd century* AD
IMAGE COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, AGORA EXCAVATIONS

In other cities in the same period new odeia were erected on, or near, the agora. I have already mentioned an odeion, large enough to have held around 400 people, at the eastern end of the Forum of Thessalonikē aligned axially with that square.[174] It has been dated to the end of the second century AD.[175] At Argos, as mentioned in the last chapter, an odeion was constructed above the so-called *theatre a gradins droits* in the early 2nd century, and at Thasos a new odeion was built within a few minutes' walk of the agora to the northeast.[176] At Corinth the odeion to the north of the agora was modified as a benefaction on the part of Herodes Atticus.[177] There were also some renovations to the Augustan odeion at Nikopolis in the second century AD.[178] The odeion at Patras, though Pausanias' testimony suggests it was originally constructed in the Hellenistic period, in the state that he must have seen it, also seems to date to the 2nd Century.[179]

Another cultural building that began to appear in the civic centres of cities in Greece in this period is the library. In some respects these Roman period libraries were very much like gymnasia—educational facilities, often centring on an open courtyard with rooms for lectures and discussions. Libraries differed from gymnasia in that there is no reason to think that the open spaces were used for physical exercise and in that they included more substantial facilities for the storage of books and scrolls. Libraries are attested in the late

174 Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 18.

175 Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 18.

176 Argos: Piérart and Touchais 1996, 78; interestingly the Hellenistic theatre was also rearranged at the same time. Thasos: Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 105–108.

177 Philostratus tells us that Herodes Atticus built an odeion for the Corinthians—*Lives of the Sophists* 2. 551. The excavations have established that the odeion was actually originally built in the first century AD—see 3.7 here. The building was, however, extensively remodelled and covered in marble revetment in the second century AD, making it likely that this was Herodes' actual benefaction—Broneer 1932, 144–146. Broneer suggests that the date of the benefaction was after Pausanias' visit to the city because the *periegete* mentions the building (2.4.1) but says nothing of Herodes here even though he admitted to being impressed with Herodes' odeion at Athens. He referred to that building in his description of Patras (7.20.3), because it had presumably not been built at the time he wrote his description of Athens.

178 Bowden 2007, 196.

179 See here 1.9. See Rizakis 2010a, 137–138 and Di Napoli 2010, 257 and esp n. 29 for extensive references to previous scholarship on the physical remains of the monument. Her comment that the building is explicitly connected to Herodes Atticus by Pausanias (7.20.6) is, however, not right. Pausanias only mentions Herodes as the builder of the odeion at Athens, which he compares to the one at Patras.

first/early second century AD at cities in Asia Minor such as Ephesos or Nysa.[180] In Greece itself three examples have been identified at present, two at Athens, one at Thessalonikē.

At Athens, just outside the agora proper, to the south of the Stoa of Attalos and on the road which connected the old agora with the newer commercial Roman Agora a library was constructed in the age of Trajan—known to modern scholars as the Library of Pantainos after the benefactor mentioned in the dedicatory inscription. Titus Flavius Pantainos, son of Flavius Menander, together with his children, dedicated the building to Athena Polias and the Emperor Trajan around the year 100 AD.[181] Trajan was most likely worshipped in the building because part of a statue of him and a statue dedicated to his priest were both found there.[182] Statues of personifications of the Iliad and Odyssey found in the vicinity in the 19th century may also have come from the building, as argued by Homer Thompson; Thompson suggested that the building might be seen as a parallel of the so-called Homereion, which Strabo reports was to be found in his day in Smyrna: a "quadrangular portico containing a shrine and a wooden statue of Homer" and associated with a library.[183]

In the first quarter of the second century Hadrian lavished even more benefactions on Athens than on the other cities of Greece.[184] Two of these buildings augmented the cultural facilities of the city. The first was the so-called Library of Hadrian, which stood to the north of the Roman Agora, and within a short walking distance of the Classical agora.[185] The building contained two audi-

180 The library of Celsus at Ephesos: Scherrer 2000, 130–132. For a full architectural consideration of the building—Wilberg 1953. For the library at Nysa see Strocka, Hoffmann et al. 2012 and Chs 5–7 in the same volume for an excellent exploration of libraries in the Roman Empire. On that subject see also Nicholls 2013.

181 Agora inscriptions I. 848 = Wycherley 1957, ***464***. On the building see Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 114–116; Camp 1986, 187–191. Camp and Shear have both suggested that Pantainos' benefactions may actually have been an addition to an existing building because it is clear that there were several phases to its construction—Shear Jr. 1973b, 387; Camp 1986, 191. Homer Thompson (1947, 202) reported that the building was being studied for publication but the volume or article has still not materialised.

182 Camp 1986, 190.

183 Strabo 14.1.37: "ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὁμήρειον, στοὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα νεὼν Ὁμήρου καὶ ξόανον". Suggested as a parallel with the Athenian building by Thompson 1954b, 64. For the statues and references to their discovery see Thompson ibid., 62–64.

184 He finished the Temple of Olympian Zeus and constructed several other temples, a library, and a gymnasium—Pausanias 1.18.9. On Hadrian's benefactions to the city see Boatwright 1983; Boatwright 2000.

185 Camp 2001, 202–203; Spetsieri-Choremi 1995.

toria built into the eastern wing. The second was the Gymnasium of Hadrian and is known only from a reference in Pausanias.[186] Homer Thompson once suggested, with appropriate caution, that a building of appropriate date discovered in the 1950s behind the northern end of the Stoa of Attalos might be this gymnasium.[187]

At Thessalonikē a building just to the north of the forum has been interpreted as a library on the basis of its having niches which would presumably have held bookshelves. A larger than life-size statue of Athena, as goddess of wisdom an appropriate deity for an educational centre, was found within the building. The building was a narrow rectangular structure, of similar proportions to a basilica, measuring 16 × 23 m. It had seven rectangular niches on each of its long sides, four rectangular and a central semi-circular niche on the north side and three monumental entrances on the south. The main room has been described as a luxurious gallery with harmonious proportions and a marble floor.[188] The statue of Athena would have stood in the main niche on the northern side. The smaller niches have been associated with pedestals for two other statues that were found within the building—one of Queen Thessalonikē, after whom the city was originally named, the other of the mother of Alexander the Great.[189] The building has been dated on the basis of the style of the Athena to the Antonine period. The statue was later reworked into a portrait of Julia Domna, a development which has been linked to some renovation of the building under the Severans.[190] A colossal head of the Emperor Titus was also found in the excavations of the building which may well have stood in the agora though its dimensions suggest it was not set up inside the building.[191]

New odeia and libraries meant that agoras in this period were becoming increasingly important as cultural spaces. However, there are also indications that the distinction between cultural and political space was becoming rather vague at this time. Most of the odeia mentioned above have been identified as such rather than as council houses because they possessed stages and therefore seem to have been designed for cultural performances as opposed to serving simply as meeting places. Their main interest here is that they bear witness to a desire for such activities to take place in or near to the agora in this

186 Pausanias 1.18.9.

187 Thompson 1950a, 326. Another possibility suggested by Thompson was that the building could have been a bathhouse.

188 Adam-Veleni 2003, 153.

189 Adam-Veleni 2003, 153, Tiverios 1997, 18.

190 Adam-Veleni 2003, 154.

191 Stephanidou-Tiveriou 2001.

period. However, as I have now argued at several points we must be cautious in interpreting the function of such buildings and we cannot rule out the possibility that some of these odeia might have also been used for meetings of political bodies. An example of such a multipurpose auditorium can be found in Pausanias' description of a building he saw in Elis in one of the gymnasia near the agora:

> The Eleans also have a council-house in this training-ground where they hold performances of impromptu speech and literature of every kind. They call it the Lalichmion after the man who dedicated it. There are shields dedicated around it which were made to be looked at, not to be used in war[192]

This passage contains a wealth of interesting detail: the gymnasium has been constructed as a benefaction, probably on the part of a local benefactor,[193] the decoration of the council house with weapons is a reminder of the age-old connection between athletic training and warfare, while the fact that these were plainly mere decorative objects shows that nobody was under any illusion that this gymnasium was now producing real soldiers. For present purposes, the most important details are that this was the city's "bouleuterion" and that it was also used for literary performances. The fact that the boule of Elis met in the gymnasium confounds our expectations that they should have met on the agora.[194] Elsewhere cultural activities were making incursions into the agora, the main political space of the polis, with the appearance of odeia and libraries; at Elis politics were being enacted in what was at heart a cultural space, a gymnasium. The fluidity of categories of public space in this period is further underlined by the fact that displays of oratory were being staged in this council house. The performances of impromptu (*ex tempore*) speech Pausanias refers

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192 Pausanias 6.23.7.

193 This Lalichmion is otherwise unknown.

194 For Joachim Heiden this is "eine ungewöhnliche Verquickung von Sportübungstätte und einer politischen Institution"—Heiden 2006, 53. He thus sees the overlap in sporting and political space as something particular to Elis. Indeed it probably did have something to do with the importance of athletics at Elis because of the connection with the Olympic Games. However, it is also important to consider this development in the context of the time in which Pausanias was writing. Unless the gymnasium is discovered and excavated we have no reason to think that the Elean boule had always met there and it must remain a possibility that it was a Roman period development that this function was accommodated there.

to sound like just the kind of thing that Herodes Atticus and his associates were getting up to at this time in the rebuilt Odeion in the Athenian agora.

The accommodation of political activity in what we might think of as primarily cultural space has possible parallels elsewhere in this period. At Dion a bath complex has been excavated to the south of the supposed forum.[195] The courtyard adjacent to the bathhouse contained a small odeion, which has been interpreted as being the meeting place for the local curia there.[196] The suggestion is certainly plausible. At Philippi the building on the west of the forum of Philippi, in the position that corresponds to the eastern temple, has been interpreted as the city's curia.[197] The identification seems to rest on little more than the fact that the building is found on the city's forum but there is nothing about the internal arrangements of the building that would have made it particularly suitable for council meetings. There is another possibility for the curia's meeting place that, to my knowledge, has not been considered. To the south of the forum and to the east of the peristyle market place there was a gymnasium, covering around 4800 m^2, or approximately one of the city's insulae. Like the marketplace the gymnasium consisted of a courtyard—the palaestra, also surrounded by a continuous colonnade, behind which on the western and eastern sides was a complex series of rooms. At the southeast corner was the public latrine that has already been mentioned.[198] Amongst the eastern rooms was the odeion. The possibility must at least be considered that this was where the curia met in the second century AD. Generally, however, the business of government tended to remain concentrated on the agora as it had always been. Let us now turn to evidence for politics on the agora under the High Empire and its relation to that other age-old function of the agora, commerce.

4.7 Politics and Commerce—the Final Separation of Function?

Since the Archaic period a tension had existed between the political and commercial functions of the Greek agora. Throughout Greek history and certainly into Roman times the word "agora" and its cognates could carry connotations to do with both spheres of activity. Over the course of the preceding three chapters

195 On the forum and how little we know about it see here 3.1.

196 Pandermalis 2003, 417, with a map on p. 419. Pandermalis states that the building was the meeting place of the council and a venue for musical performances. He does not, however, provide the evidence that this interpretation is based on.

197 Collart 1937, 341–345.

198 See here main text this section.

we have traced a development from Hellenistic into Roman times towards the increasing specialisation and segregation of different areas of public space and specialised buildings for different activities such as theatres, gymnasia, bath-houses and, for our purpose most significant, market buildings. Fully enclosed market buildings can be linked to the ideal of separating the two functions of the agora that is first seen in late Classical times in the writings of Aristotle and Xenophon. In the last chapter I argued that under the early Empire such market buildings were generally thought of as "agoras" even in cases where other more technical names were used for them. Both the pace of the fragmentation of public space and the extent to which it was carried out were uneven and varied tremendously from site to site. The general tendency, though, was for segregation to increase in later periods and for the larger, wealthier cities to lead the way. As late as the second century AD smaller towns probably still only had one agora where trading and other public activities would have been found mingled together as had been the norm for most poleis in Classical times. The provisional nature of our understanding of most such sites should, however, not be forgotten here; unless a site has been exposed, or at least surveyed, in its entirety then we can never be completely sure how many agoras it had. In larger cities where multiple agoras have been discovered there is a tendency in modern scholarship to identify one of them as the "civic agora" in opposition to the "commercial agora(s)", as a public space from which trade was excluded. It is important to consider now the extent to which trade really was excluded from "civic agoras" and to explore the evidence for the continued connection between agoras and politics, a connection to which modern scholarship has paid scant attention for the High Empire.

Some cities at this time did indeed have agoras that seem to have been intended solely for the business of government and administration. The most striking example of such a dedicated political square is the Forum of Philippi. We have already seen that the new agora of Thessalonikē was remarkably similar in design to the Forum of Philippi and may therefore also have been intended for a similar function, though it is less well preserved and has been less extensively excavated. Unlike the two-aisled colonnades on the east and south sides of the Forum of Philippi the western wing had a layout similar in some ways to the stoa-basilicas known elsewhere. For most of its length its open space extended into an elongated rectangular hall to its rear, separated from the main stoa by five columns.[199] A statue stood against the northern wall

199 On the stoa see Sève and Weber 2012a, 60–61. For the room to the rear Sève and Weber 2012a, 64–65. See also Sève and Weber 2012b.

of the main stoa, beneath a baldachin, creating the impression that this west-wing complex was oriented toward this short end like a basilica. The probable identity of the statue—the Fortune of the Colony—also seems appropriate for a basilica-like function.[200] Although Michel Sève has argued against interpreting this building as a kind of basilica, arguing that the degree to which the room to the rear was separated from the colonnade does not conform to this type of building, I would say it is likely that it did fulfil some kind of administrative, or juridical function, like basilicas elsewhere.[201] The northern ends of both the western and eastern wings of the stoa abutted on temple-like buildings with porches facing out into the square. The western one has been interpreted as the curia, though as I have argued above we cannot be sure of this interpretation.[202] The eastern one has been interpreted as a Temple of the Emperors and the Genius of the Colony.[203] Immediately to the south of that building and behind the eastern stoa were four rooms that may have served as dining rooms, or perhaps offices for local magistrates.[204]

On the northern end of the eastern wing of the stoa at Thessalonikē there was a rectangular building which had three niches in its east side. It has not been completely excavated because it lies under a modern street but by analogy with the situation at Philippi it has also been interpreted as a cult building associated with the Capitoline Triad and especially Iuno Moneta. The excavators have argued that this conclusion is supported by the presence of bronze kilns within the building, which they argue mean that it must have been the city's mint.[205] Presumably, they are thinking of the Temple of Iuno Moneta in Rome, which is known to have served as a mint, although they do not make this connection explicit.[206] To the south of this "mint/temple" and aligned axially with the

200 On the baldachin—Sève and Weber 2012a, 65 with a photo on p. 66 (fig. 43). As a stoa/basilica it can be compared to the southern stoa on the agora of Thasos. See 3.11 here.

201 Cf Sève and Weber 2012b who stress the way the hall to the rear was a separate architectural element which distinguishes this building from basilicas and stoa-basilicas elsewhere.

202 At 4.4.

203 Sève 2003, 107; Sève and Weber 2012a, 39–43; Collart 1937, 341–345.

204 The rooms were once interpreted as a library but Sève and Weber 2012a, 45–48 have argued that there isn't really sufficient evidence to know what their function was. They tentatively suggests they were dining rooms.

205 Adam-Veleni 2003, 148. The mint had four ovens and was apparently in use for over 200 years Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 16.

206 In Republican Rome coins were minted near but not in the Temple of Juno Moneta; the mint was relocated, probably by Domitian following the fire on the Capitoline and retained the name *moneta*—Bendlin, Andreas "Moneta". *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*. Ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Leiden, Brill,

forum was the odeion mentioned earlier.[207] Although it was equipped with a stage, showing that performances took place there, it may therefore also have continued to accommodate political meetings.

In the southwest corner of the forum at Philippi the rear aisle of the stoa terminated around 18 m short of the other two in order to leave space for a trapezoidal shaped room that has been identified as the tabularium.[208] At Thessalonikē the records office has been found in a corresponding position in the eastern wing. The walls of the room at Thessalonikē were equipped with niches, which would have held wooden shelves.[209] A marble attic table support with a depiction of Dionysos leaning on the arm of a Satyr was also found in the room.[210] Behind the eastern wing of the stoa at Philippi was a row of rooms that have been assumed to have had a civic function although their poor state of preservation prevents any precise identification.[211] Sève suggests that either a treasury or a prison would be a possibility on the basis of Vitruvius' recommendation that these buildings should be located in the vicinity of a city's forum.[212] On this note it is striking that no building securely identified as either a prison or treasury has, to my knowledge, been identified at any agora or forum in Greece. As with much of what Vitruvius has to say we must allow for the possibility that he is not describing how things actually were in Roman cities but rather prescribing how he thought they should be.

At older Greek cities political buildings continued to stand on agoras. It is striking that all of the bouleuteria and magisterial offices mentioned in previous chapters were still standing in this period. There is also considerable evidence for new political buildings being added to agoras in this period or for older buildings being spruced up. At Corinth in this period the administrative facilities of the forum were added to and further monumentalised. In the first place, more of the shops to the rear of the South Stoa were demolished and replaced with buildings of an apparent political character. Towards the end of the first century AD Room D, mentioned briefly in Chapter Three, was

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2005. The *moneta* of Imperial Rome has only been tentatively identified—Coarelli 2007, 174. The Roman evidence is therefore not conclusive for coins actually being minted within a temple, which suggests that the interpretation of the building at Thessalonikē possibly deserves further consideration.

207 Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 18.

208 Sève and Weber 2012a, 61–63.

209 Velenis and Adam-Veleni 1997, 18.

210 Adam-Veleni 2003, 150.

211 Sève 1996b, 127.

212 Sève 1996b, 127; Vitruvius 5.2.

constructed toward the east end of the stoa adjacent to rooms A–C. It possibly served as the office of the procurator of Achaia, as suggested by the discovery of a statue base still *in situ* in the porch of the building, erected in honour of a man who had served in that capacity under Hadrian.[213] In the second half of the century the South Basilica was given a more monumental porch.[214] The second, marble phase of the Lechaion Road Basilica also dates to this period.[215]

Sparta had been famous in Classical times for its lack of monumental architecture, as witnessed by Thucydides' famous comment on the contrast between the appearance of that city and Athens.[216] By the second century Pausanias could remark that its agora was "worth seeing", suggesting that it now could compete with the grand public squares of other Greek cities. Significantly Pausanias' description of the agora there includes references to several political buildings. He mentions a council house and offices of the guardians of the laws (*nomophulakoi*), of the ephors and of the *Bidiaioi*.[217] In most cities Pausanias has little to say about political buildings and he does not say why these building aroused his interest.[218] Perhaps it was because of Sparta's famous and anomalous political system. In any case his testimony here is useful in casting light on an agora that has not been discovered or excavated. The Bidiaioi were magistrates in charge of supervising the ephebes and are not attested before the Augustan period.[219] It is therefore likely that their building at least would have been a fairly recent addition to the agora. It is quite possible that the other political buildings on the agora of Sparta were the result of a programme of monumentalisation of the agora in Roman times. It is to be hoped that the agora at Sparta will be discovered and that archaeological investigation there will resolve the question of when the various buildings were constructed.

At Athens, the excavations have shown that the Tholos, a building which perhaps more than any other was at the heart of the Athenian political system

213 Kent 1966, *137*; Broneer 1954, 113–114.

214 Broneer 1954, 115. Weinberg 1960, 69–72. The porch was now fronted by two tall Corinthian columns.

215 The two phases of the building are discussed by Stillwell in Fowler and Stillwell 1932, 193–211. The evidence for the date of the second phase is provided by an inscribed piece of epistyle found within the building which clearly contains the name of Hadrian or one of the Antonines, thus providing a loose *terminus post quem* (ibid. 211) and West 1931, *21*.

216 Thucydides 1.10.2.

217 On these see Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 137.

218 On Pausanias' tendency to ignore political buildings see Alcock 1995.

219 Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 137. They were apparently six in number though Pausanias states that there were five of them.

in the Classical period continued to be maintained and was given a floor of marble paving in the mid second century AD.[220] The new floor was constructed over the stumps of the columns that had previously supported the roof, which shows that the building must also have been re-roofed at this time. How exactly is a problem that has never been satisfactorily resolved.[221] An inscription dated to around 200 AD was also found nearby which tells us that "Olympos son of Alexandros dedicated the plants to the Phosphoroi".[222] This suggests that the courtyard adjacent to the Tholos was at some point converted into a garden.[223] This might not have been a serious political benefaction but it at the very least suggests a continuing high regard for this old building.

New political or administrative buildings were also constructed on the Athenian agora in the second century AD. First, there are the so-called "Civic Offices" set up in the mid second century in a corner between the western edge of the Odeion and the northern edge of the terrace of the Middle Stoa.[224] This rather unimposing set of five rooms has been interpreted as having had some political or administrative function, hence the name given to them. It was suggested at the time of their excavation that they deserved further investigation but they have still received rather little attention.[225] In their original state, they

220 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 46. The floor was dated largely on the grounds that the early Imperial mosaic floor had already undergone much patching prior to its construction. A couple of coins found between the two floors were from rather early in the first century AD and there was also a piece of terracotta lamp from later in that century—Thompson 1940, 64. At the time of excavation the date for the flagstone floor was assumed to be Hadrianic—Shear 1935b, 345. The fact that the stumps of the columns remained shows just how much the ground level had risen during 600 years of the building's continuous use.

221 A dome has been suggested but dismissed on the grounds that the walls don't seem to have been strengthened to support such a structure—Thompson 1940, 72. An alternative possibility is that the roof was simply supported on wooden rafters spanning the entire building. Apparently this solution was adopted rather successfully in similar circumstances for the Arsinoeion at Samothrace—Thompson 1940, 73.

222 Agora I 4745 = Wycherley 1957, ***124***.

223 Wycherley 1957, ***124***.

224 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 79 and n. 228; Thompson 1947, 200; Thompson 1948 Thompson 1948, 151–153. Originally it was thought that the buildings could be dated to not long after the Sullan attack, which prompted Margaret Thompson's suggestion that this could be partly where the fifty talents donated by Pompey had gone—M. Thompson 1954, 1. However now that it is clear that the buildings are much later this possibility can be ruled out. As to where Pompey's money may have gone see here 3.6.

225 Thompson 1948, 151.

consisted of a row of four rooms set with their backs against that terrace. The rooms were staggered backwards towards the west so as not to impede too much on the road, which left the agora at this point. The largest room was on the east and was the only one to have a columnar porch opening on to the agora. It also provided access to the room to the west of it. This middle room also opened onto the agora and at the same time provided the only access to the room to its west. The final room to the west, the smallest of the four, was demolished at some point after the construction of the building.[226] In the angles created by the staggered plan of the building, a small latrine, already mentioned, was erected between the second and third rooms from the east and a *perirrhanterion* (ritual washing basin) between the third and fourth. It has been suggested that dining may have taken place in at least some of the rooms.[227] At a later point in time an extra room, similar in design to these, was constructed further to the east in the corner between the Middle Stoa terrace and the Odeion and linked up with the earlier buildings through the erection of a colonnade.[228]

There are several reasons for thinking that the building had a political or administrative function. First is that a tile standard was found nearby which fits into a bedding stone, found *in situ* in front of the building.[229] The building stood in close proximity to the Tholos, which, in Classical and Hellenistic times at least, had served as a repository for official weights and measures.[230] Homer

226 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 79.

227 Thompson 1948, 153 and Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 79.

228 This colonnade has been described as having looked like "a very late, and very poor descendant of the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi"—Thompson 1952b, 91. This stoa and eastern room were originally dated early in the first century AD and interpreted as later additions to the civic offices, which had then been dated to around the time of Sulla. With the date of the civic buildings now placed in the second century AD the dating of these additions is less clear.

229 A standard for Lakonian clay tiles—Stevens 1950.

230 As attested in the second century BC inscription—IG II^2 1013 = Wycherley 1957, ***605***; the decree was set up on the Akropolis and in the Tholos. Wycherley's reference is to the Akropolis copy, which had been copied by Fourmont and had been lost by the time of Wycherley's writing. He refers to the discovery of the fragmentary copy from the agora and provides references. These have since been superseded by the publication of this inscription as Woodhead 1997, ***322***. Weights and measures have been found in the vicinity of the Tholos—Thompson 1940, 141; Shear 1938, 362; Thompson 1955, 69; one of the best preserved examples was found some distance away on the slope of the Akropolis—Broneer 1938, 222. Some of these measures have been dated as early as the fifth century BC—see Camp 1986, 126–128 (figs. 102–106 are photographs and drawings of some examples).

Thompson therefore suggested that there was some connection between the new building and the Tholos.[231] It is however, important to note that the weights and measures associated with the Tholos had to do with regulating trade in foodstuffs, an activity for which there is no evidence in this period for the main agora; it is generally accepted that the Roman Agora was the place where most of the daily market activity took place in this period, a division of function between that square and the old agora that I have argued can be traced back to the mid second century BC. Nonetheless, the proximity of the new "Civic Offices" to the Tholos, Bouleuterion and Metroon, taken together with the tile standard, is suggestive that the building had something to do with running the city.

Remains of clay benches covered with plaster were also found along the east and west walls of the largest of the offices. Originally Homer Thompson suggested that they might have been designed as stands for cabinets but later argued that they must have been seats and suggested that dining had taken place in that room.[232] In addition several stelai are known to have stood in front of these buildings. One stele bedding has been found north of the east room, two to the north of the middle room, and one at the northwest corner of the west room.[233] Within the building a three-sided pedestal was found, carved in an archaistic style but probably dating to the second century BC.[234] All three sides of the pedestal are adorned in relief with a single life-size figure. These figures have been identified as Theseus, his father, King Aigeus, and Medea, his stepmother. The suggestion has been made that it was originally the base of a prize tripod from the games at the festival of Theseus which had originally stood in the still undiscovered Theseion.[235] By the time this artefact was moved to the Civic Offices it was already an antique. Thompson and Wycherley seemed to suppose that its function in its new context was purely decorative.[236] A possibility that, to my knowledge, has not been considered but which probably should be is that this office may have had some connection with the administration of that festival.[237]

231 Thompson 1947, 200.

232 Thompson 1948, 153 and Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 79.

233 Thompson has speculated that this latter may have been for a herm or boundary marker. Thompson 1948, 153.

234 Harrison 1965, ***128***.

235 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 126.

236 They speak (ibid.) of the base being used to adorn the civic offices.

237 A few late Hellenistic (probably second century BC) inscriptions relating to the Theseia have generated some scholarly interest about that festival in that period—Bugh 1990;

I have already mentioned the basilica that was erected on the northeast of the Athenian agora in the mid second century AD.[238] Only a small part of the building has been discovered and excavated. It was a large rectangular building with its short side, around 30 m long, facing onto the agora. It was fronted, as mentioned, by a stoa. The interior of the building consisted of a peristyle court, 15.30 m wide with aisles of 5.7 m surrounding it. Only the first 11 m of this court has been excavated. The northern limits of the building lie outside the excavated area and it is not known how far it extended. A striking feature of the building is that its orientation is very close to that of two buildings with which it is contemporary—the Library of Hadrian and a building which might be Hadrian's Pantheon—and to the much older Roman Agora.[239] The basilica was a particularly lavish building covered with marble revetment.[240] Though basilicas are known sometimes to have fulfilled commercial functions elsewhere the splendour of this building seems to suggest that it was more likely a political building.[241] John Camp has suggested that it "may be seen as a physical reflection of the intrusion of Roman administration into the affairs of the old agora".[242]

Kennell 1999; to my knowledge there is little evidence for the importance of the Theseia in Roman times. Theseus, however, was certainly important in second century AD Athens: the well-known inscription on Hadrian's arch refers to the "City of Theseus"—IG II² 5185. Pausanias describes the Sanctuary of Theseus (1.17.3) and mentions the mythical king at several points in his description of Athens. The Theseion has not been discovered—see Robertson 1998, 295–298 (with references to previous discussions) and Dickenson 2015. However, if the stone Minotaur and statue of Theseus of Roman date now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens really did come from the building (on which see Miller 1995a, 233, n. 62) then it may well have undergone some renovation work in this period, thus attesting to the continued importance of the cult.

238 The building has been dated to the early years of Hadrian's reign by numismatic and ceramic evidence—Shear Jr. 1973a 136–137. Shear had originally dated it slightly later—Cf Shear Jr. 1971, 264.

239 Shear Jr. 1971, 264 makes the connection with the Roman Agora and Library. Boatwright 1983, 175 points out the additional alignment with what is thought to be the Pantheon mentioned by Pausanias (1.18.9 and 1.5.5). For the remains of that building see Boatwright 2000, 169–170 with full references.

240 Shear Jr. 1971, 263.

241 See Weinberg 1960, 107 for a discussion of the multiplicity of functions that a basilica could have. Boegehold speculated that this building "like other [basilicas] at Rome and elsewhere, may have served sometimes as a meeting place for court trials"—Boegehold 1995, 92.

242 Camp 1986, 193. Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 72–73 would also like to see a juridi-

Basilicas have often been thought of as a particularly Roman type of building that is rarely seen in the Greek world. By the second century AD the Corinthian agora, as we have seen, had no less than three. A basilica was also incorporated in the eastern wing of the 2nd century AD forum of Dion.[243] Basilicas are known at some Greek cities in Asia Minor such as Aphrodisias and Magnesia on the Maeander.[244] Two basilica-like buildings dating to the High Empire have been found at Terpni in the plain of Serres and at Argos Orestikon, both sites in Macedonia.[245] The Athenian basilica is at present the only example known at an old Greek city in southern or central Greece. However, stoas are known from several Greek agoras that were arranged in a way that suggests they fulfilled a basilica-like function. As early as the period of Augustus there was a stoa-basilica on the so-called "Staatsgora" in Ephesos and I have already mentioned the possibility that the stoa erected along the southeast edge of the agora of Thasos at that time might have fulfilled an analogous function.[246] It is not so surprising that stoas in the Greek world can sometimes be found fulfilling the function of basilicas because there has even been speculation that the Roman basilica had originally been developed from the form of the Greek stoa.[247] At Megalopolis, at some time in the Roman period a bema was set up within the northern stoa of Philip, an addition, which the excavators have seen as effectively transforming that stoa into a basilica.[248] Even at Philippi, a Roman colony, we have seen that the forum had a stoa-basilica on its western edge instead of a basilica proper. The existence of these buildings has important implications for the connection between agoras and legal proceedings in this period.

It was also in the second century that the South Square at Athens was finally restored to its former glory after nearly two centuries of neglect. We have seen that the square was badly damaged in the Sullan assault and without being repaired it had been used by metalworkers throughout the first century AD. In the mid second century the East Building and the Aiakeion were

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cal function for this building. Evangelidis also emphasises the Roman nature of the building—Evangelidis 2014, 347.

243 See Figure 7 in Evangelidis 2014, reproduced from Christodoulou 2000 (p. 178 Fig. 1) an unpublished PhD thesis examining the remains of this particular building.

244 Aphrodisias—Stinson 2012; Magnesia on the Maeander—Hakan Öztaner 2012.

245 See Evangelidis 2014, 347 for references.

246 Scherrer 2001, 13; Walker 1997, 70. See 3.11 here.

247 Coulton 1976, 180–183; The word at least must be derived from the Greek *basilikos* and have arrived in Rome from the Greek world, as argued by Coulton, ibid. and de Ruyt 2000, 190.

248 Marc 1998, 13.

repaired; South Stoa II was not but its back wall was reconstructed and reinforced, possibly to support an aqueduct that would have supplied the nearby nymphaeum.[249] Thompson and Wycherley concluded that this restored the South Square to its original function; for them the complex had been built to accommodate the Athenian courts and I have argued in favour of their interpretation in Chapter Two. However, the case that the courts now returned to the complex is less compelling. Pausanias certainly speaks of the courts as though they were still functioning in his day.[250] He does not, however, provide any topographical clues as to where they were held. In Roman times much legal business may have been conducted in the main square around the bema and, beginning in the second century, in the new basilica to the north. The occupation of the South Square by foundries had lasted nearly two hundred years—far longer than the period that the complex had been used for its original purpose, whatever that had been. There is therefore no reason to think that the sentimental attachment to the building would have been so great that it must have been returned to that purpose.

There is, moreover, evidence that at some point marble workers replaced metalworkers within the square; although Thompson dated this transition to the late first century AD it seems rather more likely that this change of function coincided with the renovations.[251] There is other evidence for marble working in other buildings in the area in the post Trajanic period. The rooms of the western stoa of the Library of Pantainos have yielded plentiful evidence of marble working there.[252] The rooms made use of a sophisticated locking mechanism; this suggests they contained something valuable that needed protecting which led Gorham Phillips Stevens to suggest they might have been sculptors' workshops.[253] Finally the head of a Classical female statue was found nearby indented with pinprick depressions characteristic of Roman period copying techniques.[254] All this suggests that production of statues was taking place on

249 Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 71. On the state of South Stoa II at this time—Thompson 1960, 362.

250 Pausanias 1.28.8–11.

251 Thompson 1960, 361–363. Carol Lawton reports that there were marble chips and traces of emery powder for polishing small marble objects. One of the "shops" of the East Building now seems to have specialised in small basins for household use because some broken examples were left *in situ*; another shop has produced evidence for manufacture of marble revetment for covering walls and floors—Lawton 2006, 21.

252 The sludge created by marble chippings—Shear 1935c, 394–398. Lawton 2006, 22–23.

253 Stevens 1949.

254 Discussed by Harrison 1960, 369–378.

an industrial scale in this area of the agora, probably to feed the Roman export markets. On the whole it seems rather more likely that the South Square was spruced up in the second century AD in connection with this function than that it returned to being a court building. After all, this was the time of the Second Sophistic when interest in, and demand for, Greek art was at its peak. This renovation project can therefore be connected with the general trend toward monumentality and order in this period but for the High Empire the square should probably not be thought of as having a political or administrative function.

This evidence for marble working demonstrates that even for cities that had specialised market buildings, such as Athens or Corinth, there are no reasons to suppose—as scholars often have tended to—that that commerce was totally restricted to these venues. In this connection it is worth remembering the continued existence of the Stoa of Attalos at Athens, which is generally accepted as housing commercial establishments as well as the many rows of supposed shops on the Corinthian forum. The Roman Agora at Athens was, as we have seen, a fully enclosed space yet Korres has speculated that wheeled traffic would have been able to gain access.[255] Dimitris Sourlas has argued that this would have become more difficult once the square was paved but even then there is no reason to exclude the possibility of wagons laden with goods being brought into the square.[256]

Even at Philippi it is difficult to explain the ramp that provided access to the main forum from the southwest other than as a way to allow some wheeled traffic into the square.[257] It is difficult to be sure quite of the quantity or nature of the trade that took place on such squares because archaeological evidence is either lacking or has not received much attention and literary references are often ambiguous as to the type of agora referred to. Apuleius' description of a sword swallower entertaining a crowd in front of the Painted Stoa at Athens, various references to soothsayers peddling their services, most of them negative, and Dio Chrysostom's complaints about prostitutes enticing customers near council buildings, however, serve as a corrective to the sterile image of civic agoras under the High Empire that can arise from looking solely at grand monumental architecture.[258] Dio's objections to prostitutes also show us, however, that the old tension concerning the type of space that the agora

255 2002, 21–29 and 2009, 87–92.

256 Cf Sourlas 2012, 121.

257 Sève and Weber 2012a, 50. See here 4.2.

258 Sword swallower - Apuleius *Golden Ass* 1.4 = Wycherley 1957, *53*; soothsayers Plutarch *On the Oracles of Delphi. Moralia* 407 C, Artemidorus *Dreambook* I. Prologue, Athenaeus 13.605c; prostitutes Dio Chrysostom 7.134.

was supposed to be remained. For authors such as Dio, just as for Aristotle some half a millennium earlier, it was unpalatable that lower class trades and activities were found taking place in close proximity to government buildings. The ubiquity of food-markets undoubtedly can be explained, at least, in a part by a desire to confine the smells and mess of meat, fish and vegetables to particular areas. More luxurious types of goods were probably sold in the Stoa of Attalos and the shops on the Corinthian forum and, the presence of marble working at Athens suggests that this type of trade also enjoyed a slightly higher prestige. The heat and noise of metalworking was apparently less welcome in the civic heart of Athens and was thereby expelled to elsewhere in the second century. An interesting parallel for the demise of the Athenian foundries can be found in one of Dio's speeches to his native city of Prusa in which he reveals that a blacksmith's premises has been relocated to make way for the stoa that was part of his project of urban renewal there.[259]

4.8 Conclusion

The overarching theme that links most of the changes that I have discussed in this chapter is the trend towards monumentality and the increasing concern for outward appearances. The new forums that were laid out at Philippi and Thessalonikē in the second century AD surpassed any public space that had previously been seen in Greece in terms of the degree of organisation and regimentation of their plan. Completely enclosed agoras had first appeared in the early Hellenistic period and their rather simplistic plans had resulted in a quite natural symmetry. However, at these two new squares, and especially at Philippi, the imposition of symmetry appears to have become an aim in itself. No practical purpose was achieved through the way that the two temple-like buildings behind the east and west wings balanced each other, nor through the way that the monuments along the north side on either side of the bema very nearly mirrored each other. Concern for appearance has here been elevated to equal, if not greater importance than practical needs. A desire for monumentality is also exhibited by the row of giants and Tritons that supported the new front of the Odeion in the Athenian agora. Perhaps the most powerful symbols of the triumph of appearance over functionality are the nymphaea that were constructed in this period where rather simple fountain houses had once sufficed.

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259 Dio Chrysostom 40.8.

The coincidence in the timing of this new preoccupation with outward form in architecture and the cultural movement known as the Second Sophistic can hardly be a coincidence. Just as buildings and public spaces were meant to look impressive so too were the leading sophists judged just as much—if not more so—for *how* they spoke as for *what* they said. The revived interest in literature and in Greek culture, especially of the glorious past, that was central to the interest of the Sophists also made its mark on the built environment of the agora through certain types of buildings that were erected. In particular odeia, the places where the sophists performed and taught, became even more common in this period and existing odeia became even grander. In its rebuilt form the Odeion of Agrippa at Athens incorporated various pieces of sculpture that either through their subject matter or appearance made the same kind of nodding allusions to the culture of the Classical world that also peppered the performances of sophistry that we know were staged in the building. A new type of building also appeared in this period on and around agoras throughout the Greek world, which might be seen as the ultimate architectural expression of learning and culture in this period: the library.

Against the current consensus I have argued that there is no reason to connect these tendencies toward monumentality, increasing enclosure, symmetry and architectural coherence to civic decline. What agoras were used for cannot be easily read in the reconstructed plans of architectural sites and it is far too simple to assume that the vitality of the agora was determined by the accessibility of roads. People still had ample reason to go to the agora and the range of activities accommodated in its buildings give little reason to ascribe to visions of decline. There are, furthermore, no grounds to point the finger of blame at Rome for unwelcome transformations to the agora at this time and to assume a top-down model of change, driven by the imperial capital. Although the forum of Philippi does represent the principles of enclosure and symmetry taken to their extreme, the evidence from Corinth presents a different picture of enclosure and monumentalisation achieved piecemeal over two centuries.

It is, furthermore, important to stress that neither the increased emphasis on appearance nor the increasing presence of cultural buildings on the agora meant that the agora ceased to fulfil an important role in the life of the polis. In the final section of this chapter I addressed the issue of the degree to which the agora's age-old functions of politics and/or commerce continued to be accommodated there in High Imperial times. There is certainly ample evidence for the maintenance and renovation of older political buildings in this period and at some cities, such as Athens and Corinth, new buildings of a political nature were even added to the agora. Even though by this period it had long been common for much trading activity to be housed in specialised market

buildings, themselves thought of as agoras, there are good indications that even on so-called "civic agoras" there was some degree of commercial activity, some provided for in purpose-built shops, some taking place informally in the open space of the square.

Here we arrive at the heart of the question that has been central to this book—what kind of places were these agoras and what kinds of people were to be found there? We also find ourselves confronted—arguably much more than for earlier periods—with a major problem relating to the evidence at our disposal for answering that question—the sheer lack of information for what the open space of the agora was used for. While the literary evidence and, to a lesser extent, inscriptions that we do have offer more potential for thinking about the agora as a public space than has generally been acknowledged, the most serious obstacle to understanding the use of the open space of the agora has to do with the nature of the archaeological evidence and the way that it has been approached.

If agoras were excavated with the meticulous attention to detail that is shown to prehistoric sites it might be possible to glean far more detail about day-to-day life on these ancient squares. This would require systematic exploration of the stratigraphy of the open spaces of agoras with careful attention to small find material. While excavations of buildings typically reveal only the small finds that were left there at the time of abandonment the small finds from the open space are far more likely to be representative of the day-to-day use of the square. Open spaces are far less likely than buildings to have been regularly swept clean of clutter and, particularly for unpaved squares—which the majority of Greek agoras were—coins, pottery, jewellery and other small objects that might give clues as to the nature of agora users, would have been easily trampled under foot if lost.[260] Many of the agoras of Greece were excavated in days before interest in the minutiae of daily life was a serious scholarly concern and even now the costs of such an investigation would be prohibitively high; such a project would be extremely time consuming, costly and the knowledge accrued would only become clear gradually after many campaign seasons. Excavations of agoras have, therefore, understandably tended to focus on exposing buildings and monuments rather than on digging up open space. In the High Impe-

260 As a caveat to this suggestion it is worth noting that in the recent surface survey at Kastro-Kallithea in Thessaly the agora area has turned out to have one of the lowest artefact densities at the site—Haagsma, Karapanou et al. 2011. Possibly the agora was kept cleaner than the city's streets or domestic areas. Even if this were the case and even if this situation were typical of other cities it should still be able to gain more information about the use of the agora by paying more attention to small finds than generally occurs.

rial period agoras most certainly did become grander and more monumental which means there is better evidence for buildings than for earlier periods. An unwelcome result of this increase in evidence for architecture, compared to a relative dearth of evidence for activity, is that scholars have tended to assume that monumentalisation went hand-in hand with, and was even a contributing factor toward, the decline in the function of the agora as a public space.

We might lack the evidence needed to restore the open space of the agora to life but by looking here in more detail at the range of activities that were accommodated in the buildings around the agora, and by challenging some of the assumptions that underlie the vision of the decline of the agora in Imperial times, it is hopefully clear how fragile the foundations of that interpretation are. The Greek polis of the Roman period certainly looked very different from how it had in Classical times—as a society, a culture and as a lived-in urban environment. The agora too had changed dramatically in terms of its layout and architecture and in terms of the types of people and activities that it accommodated. There is, however, no reason to think that it had ceased to be what it had always been—the main square and beating heart of a vibrant urban community.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

In this book we have traced the development of the Greek agora as a built space across nearly six centuries from the beginning of the Hellenistic period with the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC to the time of the Herulian incursion in the year 267 AD. No doubt if a Greek from the beginning of this period could have been transported forward in time to the high point of the Roman Empire and shown what had become of the Greek agora he would have seen much that would have surprised him. Throughout these centuries agoras everywhere had become increasingly built up, and more and more enclosed. Particularly in the High Imperial period far greater attention than ever before was paid to the outward appearance of buildings, with the new technique of marble revetment being liberally used to clad buildings constructed of poorer quality materials and, in places, laid down as paving. The prominence of cultural buildings such as odeia, libraries, and—usually slightly removed from the agora—bathhouses would have come as a shock. The likelihood that a large amount of commercial activity was now probably confined to one or more separate market buildings in close proximity to the agora would also have been a surprise, though possibly a welcome one to our early Hellenistic Greek. Although the phenomenon has only been touched upon here he would have also been astonished at the large numbers of statues that had accumulated in most agoras. Many of those would have also looked unfamiliar in terms of their size, artistic style, or subject matter; statues of Roman soldiers in cuirasses, emperors shown either as high priests or warriors, and even Greeks shown wearing the latest Roman fashions and clean-shaven would have looked particularly odd.

With all that was strange, however, our time-travelling Greek would also find much that was familiar. If the city was an old one he would even see buildings that had survived intact from his own day. Some of these might have been spruced up somewhat but most often their appearance had changed little from when they were first erected. Many of these buildings would also probably have still been in use for the very purpose for which they had been built. In particular, the buildings that most often tended to survive throughout these periods were political buildings, such as council houses and magisterial offices. As a centre of government and administration the agora would certainly have been recognisable. Furthermore, the separation of commerce and politics was rarely complete and a good deal of trading would still have been going on in

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shops around the edges of the square or, possibly, in and amongst the statues and monuments. Archaic and Classical statues too continued to stand in some agoras.

This thought experiment serves to illustrate the main areas of change and the main areas of continuity seen in the layout and architectural appearance of agoras between the two ends of the time scale considered here. However, it is worth stressing that change proceeded incrementally, at an uneven pace and that the tendencies sketched above as being typical of an agora under the High Empire were not taken to the same extent everywhere. Our time-travelling Greek would possibly have felt more at home on the second century agora of Elis than he would at Thessalonikē or even Athens. This point has been made several times throughout the discussion. It is also worth stressing that the seeds for some of the most important of the transformations just mentioned were sown fairly early. In particular, fully enclosed agoras and the partial segregation of commerce from politics occurred at some cities as early as the first half of the Hellenistic period. At most individual sites major transformations of the built environment of the agora occurred sporadically with peaks of building activity taking place when political and economic circumstances were favourable. Taking in the broader perspective, however, the transformation of the Greek agora was something that occurred incrementally through slow processes that stretched throughout the periods considered here. This conclusion creates problems for those who wish to see change simplistically as driven by reconfigurations of political power at the interstate level. Although certain developments can be closely associated with outside powers—Hellenistic kings certainly built a lot of stoas on agoras and the introduction of speakers' platforms was a decidedly Roman development—on the whole such powers provide only a partial explanation for the transformations we have seen. On balance, it is not so much remarkable that the average agora of the High Imperial period looked different from a late Classical agora; far more remarkable are the areas of continuity, the gradual pace of change and the endurance of the agora as a recognisable type of public square.

The central argument of this book is that we need to find a new way of looking at ancient public spaces. Interpreting the significance of changes to the ancient built environment is extremely difficult, more difficult than tends to be acknowledged. It is all too easy to fall into the trap of allowing our interpretations to be shaped by what we think we already know about ancient society and culture. Too often in previous scholarship reconstructed site plans have been presented as evidence of a particular development when in fact, the "reading" in question is far from self-evident and is merely being used to reinforce preconceived ideas. For a long time it was assumed that the political vitality

of the Greek city must have declined in post-Classical times and so scholars looked to the agora, the political heart of the city, for signs of that decline. Had they found evidence for dilapidation of buildings that would have been presented as evidence of economic problems and a civic downturn; no change at all would have been read as symptomatic of stagnation. As it happens the picture that has emerged from decades of excavations is that throughout Hellenistic and Roman times agoras became increasingly grand and more monumental. This development has therefore been interpreted as a lamentable move away from the Classical agora's simplicity of spirit. Architectural splendour has been judged just as harshly as ruination would have been.

The major problem with this way of approaching the agora is that it teaches us next to nothing about changes to Greek society and culture. Archaeologists have spent a great deal of time and effort, to say nothing of money, excavating agora sites throughout the Mediterranean. These public squares functioned as the beating hearts of their communities for centuries; they were the stages on which much of the drama of ancient city life unfolded and yet, looking at the vast wealth of evidence accumulated from investigating these sites individually has, up to now, only really lead us back to the point at which we began—to a view of the Hellenistic and Roman period polis as a pale shadow of its Classical forebear, which was the consensus view before the first pick axe had even struck the ground at most of the sites surveyed here. Among historians, this view of the post-Classical polis has, of course, been challenged in recent decades and the culture and politics of the Hellenistic and Roman period Greek city are now increasingly recognised as both vibrant and intrinsically interesting as objects of study. However, so deeply ingrained have old attitudes to the agora become that they have gone unquestioned and unchallenged. We have simply come to take for granted that kings and emperors imposed their will on the public spaces of the Greek poleis, that monumental architecture is anathema to meaningful engagement in public life and that increasing numbers of statues made agoras more and more like museums, with the result that they became less truly public spaces.

This book has challenged some of the key assumptions and old certainties behind the way that the post-Classical agora has been interpreted in the past. I have argued that it is unhelpful to see the transformations of the agora in Hellenistic and Roman times in terms of decline and that there is no reason to suppose that the agora lost its place of central importance in the life of the polis community. As a coda it is worth considering in slightly more detail than we have up to now the view that the agora became like a museum and to suggest some possible avenues for enquiry that future research into the agora might pursue.

C.1 The Agora as a Museum

As I mentioned near the very beginning of this book, thinking about agoras in the post-Classical periods as museums—places primarily for displaying and seeing statues and other monuments—has been fairly common in modern scholarship.[1] For the Hellenistic period Eleni-Anna Chlepa has made that suggestion for the Asklepieion complex at Messene.[2] The interpretation has, however, most often been advanced for the Roman Imperial period. T. Leslie Shear Jr., Susan Alcock and Susan Walker have all compared the Athenian agora under Roman rule to a museum;[3] Antony Spawforth makes the same interpretation for Sparta[4] as does Jean-Yves Marc for Thasos;[5] Wolfram Hoepfner and Frank Kolb have seen agoras generally at that time as being like museums.[6] Although we have not given statues much explicit attention, for reasons set out in the Introduction, this view of the post-Classical agora is very different from the one put forward here. I have emphasised throughout that there are no indications that the agora ceased to be a vibrant public space. In Roman times the agora was still a hub of activity and interaction between different sub-sections of the polis population, rather than merely a place where statues and other monuments were displayed for the benefit of a passive audience of spectators. However, the increase in monuments was certainly real enough. It is, therefore, worth setting out more explicitly why the "museum" comparison is inadequate to describe this phenomenon and to think about how growing numbers of statues might be reconciled with the vision of the agora as set out here.

Scholars that use the museum analogy typically do so to draw a contrast with earlier periods when the agora had played a more important role in the social and political life of the polis. This is particularly pronounced in Shear's case where the idea of the agora as a museum is made to fit his general vision of the declining importance of the agora as a political space.[7] Jeffrey Burden does not use the word museum but takes this particular vision of decline a step further. When describing the situation on the Athenian agora at the time of Augustus

1 See section 1.1.
2 Chlepa 2001, 100.
3 Shear 1981, 362; Walker 1997, 72; Alcock 2001, 337; 2002, 52–53.
4 Cartledge and Spawforth 2002, 137.
5 Marc 1996, 113.
6 Hoepfner 2006, 23 ff. Kolb, Frank "Agora". *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*. Ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. Leiden, Brill, 2005.
7 I have dealt with Shear's general argument at several places in this book—see 2.7, 3.6, and especially 6.6, 6.7, 6.10 and 6.11.

he writes: “The Athenians seem to have abandoned the old agora, leaving the Classical heart of the city for wealthy Roman philathenes to wander among the ruins.”[8] He seems to assume that the Athenians themselves had relocated their public lives to the newly built Roman Agora. This view is completely at odds with my interpretation that the old agora remained the political and administrative heart of the city, with renovations of old political buildings and continued use of the bema for legal hearings and other public gatherings.[9] The phrase that Susan Walker uses to describe the agora at this time, “sacred museum”, suggests that she envisions the agora as something more than just an art gallery but at the same time it suggests that being on the agora was a rather passive experience. Susan Alcock explicitly acknowledges that the term museum is a problematic one for describing the square:

> running the risk as it does of emphasizing old or elite elements at the expense of contemporary or lesser monuments, and thus skewing our appreciation of the space. The label “museum” also potentially underrepresents human participation in this space [i.e. the Athenian agora], which (while it did *lose certain functions* […]) remained an active thoroughfare, a center for ritual activity, and a focus for civic business (my emphasis).[10]

In a footnote she suggests that the concept of the “memory theatre” may be a more useful way to think of the (Athenian) agora but does not follow up on this suggestion.[11] However, the pervasive hold that the “museum” concept has over the scholarly imagination is shown by the fact that in the same book less than twenty pages later she refers approvingly to Spawforth’s conclusion that the Spartan agora had similarly become like a museum, and without adding his proviso that it was also an important political centre.[12] She also suggests that the situation at Sparta closely paralleled that seen at Athens.

There are probably two main factors that are responsible for the notion that agoras somehow became like museums. In the first place statues, inscriptions and monument bases always number among the more high profile discoveries on excavations; traces of mundane day-to-day life are rather less visible. The second factor is the way that scholars have relied heavily on Pausanias’ tes-

8 Burden 1999, 29.

9 Chapter 6 *passim*.

10 Alcock 2002, 53–55. As I have argued here the idea that the agora lost *any* of its functions has more to do with scholarly prejudices than it does with the evidence.

11 Alcock 2002, 54 n. 29.

12 Alcock 2002, 72.

timony. I have already argued, at several points in this book, that too much has been made of certain comments Pausanias makes regarding Greek agoras.[13] Nowhere does he specifically compare an agora to a museum but his descriptions of agoras focus almost wholly on monuments, which often serve as springboards into excursuses on myth and history. Considering that archaeologists have often approached the sites of Greece with a pickaxe in one hand and a copy of Pausanias in the other it is no small wonder that his vision has profoundly influenced theirs. This is particularly clear in the cases of Spawforth and Alcock's interpretations of the Spartan agora. Because the agora has not been found, Pausanias' description is actually our only evidence for what the square was like in the second century AD.[14] Alcock's comparison with Athens is particularly inappropriate considering the enormous wealth of archaeological data that we have for that city's agora under the Empire. With only Pausanias to go on we cannot say that the agora of Sparta, or of any Greek city, had *become* like a museum under Rome because his testimony gives us no way of knowing whether the number of monuments had increased dramatically at that time or if there had been any substantial change in the types of monuments on display.

Pausanias' decision to emphasise monuments and buildings and to say nothing about human activity also tells us nothing about what kind of places the agoras he saw actually were. If we were to conclude on that basis that agoras were like museums we would have to conclude that the whole of Greece had become like a museum by his day because he rarely mentions living people in any setting.[15] In that connection it is worth noting how K.W. Arafat has argued, on the basis of Pausanias' description that the Temple of Hera at Olympia had become like a museum by the second century AD.[16] Pausanias' catalogue of the various statues and other votives that had been gathered from around the Altis and brought together in that building makes it easy for us to imagine a parallel to the modern tourist experience. However, we should not forget that these were all sacred objects and there is nothing to suggest the temple was no longer functioning. A more appropriate parallel might be a medieval Catholic church

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13 See 1.1 and 8.4.

14 Pausanias 3.11.2–11.

15 Of this tendency William Hutton has said recently (2005, 132): "[Pausanias'] acknowledgement of theatres, fountains, gymnasia and other indices of a healthy contemporary communal life in the poleis he visits compensates somewhat for the tendency to which his dominant interests incline him, namely portraying the cities he visits as repositories of antiquities or open air museums populated more by the ghosts of myth and history than by living human beings".

16 Arafat 1995.

with its accumulation of grave monuments, religious representations and collection of saints' relics. Pausanias' interest in antiquities was, after all, largely a religious one. It does not always follow that where monuments are found in large numbers the space around them functions primarily as somewhere to showcase them.

In a sense, Pausanias' attitude to the agoras he saw was very much in tune with those of his contemporaries of the Second Sophistic. Men such as Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom and Philostratus complained about what they saw as unsavoury types of people and undesirable activities frequenting the public spaces of Greek cities and would like to have seen them expelled; Pausanias similarly edited them out of his descriptions of urban space. His testimony is invaluable in providing us with one authentic way of experiencing agoras (and other spaces, mostly urban, less often rural), in the second century AD. The mistake that previous scholars have made is in writing as if this was the dominant and defining experience of public space for all Greeks at this time.

In the course of writing this book I assembled a catalogue of over 300 statues and over 30 tombs either attested in literary sources and inscriptions or discovered archaeologically, which can be assumed with a fair degree of confidence to have stood on an agora.[17] This total, spanning as it does the Archaic through to Roman Imperial times must represent but a small sample of the total number of statues that actually stood on the agoras that have been discussed here. An indication of how much has been lost is given by Pliny the Elder's comment that there were 3,000 (!) statues in the city of Rhodes in his day and probably near that number at Athens, Olympia and Delphi.[18] Even though Pliny's reference seems to suggest these places were exceptional and even though not all of these stood on the agora, this figure is of a different order of magnitude altogether from the handful of statues individually attested for particular agoras. Nonetheless the evidence that we do have is sufficient to allow some consideration of the way that monuments, just as buildings, were used to reinforce, to negotiate, and contest political relationships within the polis, and with outside powers. One reason that I have not explored this material in any detail here is because it is more useful to consider it in the broader context of public monuments erected in different settings. Comparing the types of statues erected in the agora with those set up in other public spaces, such as theatres, gymnasia, streets and bathhouses will

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17 In the case of some of the epigraphic and archaeological material it is impossible to be completely sure of the original stand-place. See my comments in the Introduction 1.9.

18 Pliny *Natural History* 34.17.

tell us most about the significance of these monuments. It should also provide a deeper understanding of the agora's significance as a setting for monuments.

Even without a thorough consideration of the types of monuments that were erected in different settings there are indications that the agora was a particularly prestigious location. When, for example Artemidorus of Daldis discusses the meaning of dreams public statues it is naturally of statues in the agora that he thinks of;[19] furthermore, inscriptions and literary sources speak of the agora as the "epiphanestatos topos", the most visible place, within the polis.[20] Part of the honour for a man or woman in having a statue on the agora must have derived from seeing their image placed alongside those of their gods and distant ancestors. An important part of a project that explored the full range of significance of public monuments would involve thinking, as Susan Alcock has suggested, and as I have argued here for certain monuments, about the ways that monuments drew for meaning on their physical surrounding, on neighbouring buildings and monuments. However, the context of monuments was not just determined by the buildings and other monuments that surround them; human activity was arguably even more important and would also have to be considered.

Even under the Roman Empire the agora never became a museum, an elite strolling ground for admiring statues and works of art. It remained a truly multipurpose public space; this is true, to some extent, even for more specialised commercial or political agoras in those cities that had more than one. Part of the honour of having a statue on the agora must have been that it placed the image of an individual at a prominent place in the heart of a living community. Legal hearings on the open square, councillors and magistrates coming and going from meetings in important buildings, street entertainers, traders, itinerant preachers and mystics, food riots and crowds of men, slaves, women

19 Artemidorus *Dream Book*, 1.50.47.

20 E.g. Philostratus, calls the agora of Ephesos the most visible part of the city (ἐν τῇ ἐπιφανεστάτῃ Ἐφέσῳ) when describing how the tomb of Dionysios the sophist was located there—Philostratus *Lives of the Sophists* 1.526.5–8. Honorific inscriptions which state they are to be set up in the "epiphanestatos topos" of their city were erected on the agora at Messene (SEG LI 463 = PAAH (1999)[2002] p. 74/5 no 3) and at Thasos (Dunant and Pouilloux 1958, *170*). The phrase "epiphanestatos topos" was also used to signal a specific location within an area of public space such as, for example, the agora, theatre or gymnasium. The issue would pay further consideration but my point here is that in relation to the city as a whole the agora in general seems often to have been classed as the most visible spot.

and children were all just as important a part of the context in which new monuments were erected on the agora as pre-existing monuments and buildings. If a more thorough consideration of public monuments in the ancient agora is attempted it is therefore of vital importance that the discussion be connected with the evidence presented here for the agora's importance as a lived-in public space.

C.2 Where Now for the Greek Agora?

The central argument of this book is that there is no reason to think that the agora declined as a public space in Hellenistic and Roman times. There is clearly no sense in which that could be the final word on the post-Classical agora and neither is it intended as such. Rather, it is hoped that having broken down old prejudices and assumptions, and by questioning the methodology by which we attempt to read ancient public spaces, this conclusion might serve as a new starting point from which to approach agoras and other ancient public spaces in the future. New interpretations have been offered here both of individual sites and of wider patterns of change. My reading of the redevelopment of central Athens in the mid 2nd century BC and my argument that Roman expansion in the Greek world saw the widespread introduction of speakers' platforms onto Greek agoras are possibly the most radical of these new interpretations. Nonetheless I am aware that breaking down old certainties has done as much to raise questions as it has to answer them. If the agora did not decline as a public space then how might future investigation of the agora deepen our understanding of the transformations of polis society in post-Classical times? To conclude I would like to offer a few suggestions for how future enquiries might proceed.

In the first place, we can be sure that archaeological and epigraphic evidence from agora sites will continue to accumulate. Sites already known will continue to be excavated and new sites will be discovered. At a global level this evidence will undoubtedly bring greater definition to our understanding of the evolution of the agora and allow more detailed comparison between trends and the pace of development in different parts of the Greek world. For example, as argued here, we are now beginning for the first time to appreciate the contribution that Macedonia played to the history of Greek urban planning and agora design because of recent excavations at sites such as Pella and Miezas. Other regions will hopefully similarly come into sharper focus as archaeological data accumulates. In particular, it is to be hoped that new light will be cast on the development of urban space on the island poleis of the Aegean, an area that up to now

has not featured very prominently in comparative studies. Future overviews of the development of the agora might profitably focus on such areas, on Sicily or Magna Graecia or perhaps even on Asia Minor where, although much comparative research has been done, the emphasis has tended to be on Archaic through to early Hellenistic times, with the result that the Roman period in particular remains under-studied. Of course, there is also scope for a future comparative study of agoras throughout the entire Greek world, or Roman forums throughout the Empire, though such an ambitious project would of course be much easier if comparative studies of individual countries, such as this one, had first been carried out. Needless to say, interpretations of some or many of the buildings discussed here will continue to be debated so that future comparative research into the agoras of Greece itself will be able to take account of new insights that have yet to arise

At the level of the individual agora site it is to be hoped that archaeologists will reflect more critically on the influence that their preconceived ideas about ancient society and culture have over their interpretations of the use of space and changes to the built environment, particularly for the post-Classical periods. Greater accuracy in the dating of Hellenistic and Roman building phases, most feasibly to be achieved through greater sensitivity to the pottery of the periods, would be useful. Instead of the current tendency to explain architectural change almost exclusively in terms of interventions by *outside* powers more attention to the ways in which agoras were experienced and used by groups and individuals *within* the ancient city would be welcome. It would be particularly gratifying if my suggestion that bemata became common on Greek agoras under Roman influence led to the discovery of more archaeological evidence for such platforms. At a more general level more attention to the small find material in the open spaces of agoras and in the buildings around them could potentially aid in the interpretation of the function of individual structures and allow a deeper understanding of the day-to-day use of agoras. It is important to recognise the limitations of the evidence here—many of the buildings that have been discussed in this book were in use for hundreds of years and would periodically have been swept clean. They are no more likely to contain great quantities of *in situ* material to provide evidence for use than modern houses that have been lived in by a succession of families. Nonetheless, this is precisely why any small pieces of evidence that are preserved—perhaps in associated fills outside buildings—could be so significant and why greater attention to such material in excavating buildings would be welcome.

A final, potentially exciting area in which research at the level of the individual site might be possible in the future lies with computer technology. In partic-

ular GIS software might allow new avenues of enquiry although its use presents certain problems. One of the problems with carrying out visibility analysis, for example, is that it is often far from clear from two dimensional maps which monuments or buildings would have been visible from a given vantage point. Three dimensional reconstructions of ancient agoras would undoubtedly open up new possibilities. At the moment there are some very good 3D models of the Athenian agora available online but the possibilities for user interaction are rather limited.[21] The state of the art "Rome Reborn" project is even more impressive and shows what can be accomplished with the right combination of good data, scholarly commitment and funding.[22] The main use of such models is that they give a feeling of what ancient cities looked like, and a sense of what it was like to move around them. As such they could allow a more phenomenological approach to ancient public space than I have pursued here. However, there is also clear potential for more rigorously analytical research into issues such as visibility, accessibility and movement and circulation. Once models become available for the extent of development of these squares in different periods we will be better placed to trace the impact of architectural projects on such issues over time.

Above all, however, the thing that will do most to deepen our understanding of the post-Classical agora is to approach the subject with the right questions in mind. Greek and Roman cities were intensely public places where people spent a great deal of time outside taking part in communal activities such as festivals, theatrical performances or political meetings, shopping, exercising, socialising, interacting with one another. Public space mattered because it was here that the inhabitants of ancient cities learned how to be members of an urban community as well as where they came together to transform their culture and society; sometimes dramatically at moments of crisis, through, for example, eruptions of political violence or public debates of momentous

21 The "Ancient Athens 3D" project has static screenshots of models of most of the major monuments of the ancient city for different periods from the Bronze Age through to Ottoman times—www.ancientathens3d.com. Website consulted 4th November 2015.

22 http://www.romereborn.virginia.edu. The full 3D model was accessible through Google Earth but sadly the resolution was less than that shown in the demonstration films. The floating way of moving around the square also hardly created an authentic experience of actually being there. Now, unfortunately, even this possibility no longer exists because the model has been removed from Google Earth. The older project "Digital Roman Forum" (http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Forum), completed 2003, remains impressive, especially with its sliding time scale that allows the site to be viewed, from above, at various stages of its development. Websites consulted 4th November 2015.

occasion; more often more slowly through the addition and demolition of buildings and monuments and imperceptibly through subtle changes to modes of behaviour over many generations. As anthropologists and social scientists have long recognised we exist in a dialectic relationship to the spaces we inhabit: human society both shapes, and is in turned shaped by, the spaces it creates. Here public space is particularly important because it is space in which all members of society, to a greater or lesser extent, participate and have a vested interest. Public space is by its very nature contested space. Different groups and individuals have different ideas about how it should be used and about what it should look like and a space where people of different statuses, of different backgrounds and holding different ideas literally rub shoulders. The tensions that focus on, and which are played out in, public space are the tensions inherent in society itself. Approached with the right questions in mind public spaces like the agora should therefore have much to teach us about the nature of society in the ancient city.

For modern societies anthropologists, through ethnographic observation, have been able to explore the various ways in which life in public space serves to shape realities of power. We cannot travel back in time to sit in a quiet corner of a Greek agora making notes on how people respond to buildings and statues, how they talk and quarrel with one another or how they dress and comport themselves as they make their way through the square. For individual agora sites, the evidence for all of these issues is also rather sparse. However, if we widen our focus and look at a wide range of different sites in conjunction and include the mass of passing references to life on the agora in Hellenistic and Roman period literary sources mentioned in the Introduction and, above all, recognise that such issues are worth examining, then there certainly is enough evidence to take an almost ethnographic approach to the post-Classical agora and to investigate how the agora as a public space shaped and was in turn shaped by polis society over centuries of change. Up to now the prevailing view in modern scholarship was to consider the fate of the post-Classical agora in terms of decline. This book has challenged this view and, in so doing, has paved the way for such an anthropologically informed investigation of the changing use of the agora. As I have argued, there is no reason to suppose that the agora lost its importance in Hellenistic or Roman times. The agora remained the heart of the polis, a vibrant public space where a multitude of different activities mingled together. This is why the agora demands our attention.

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